

THE MORMONS AND THE CIVIL WAR

by

Boyd L. Eddins

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1966

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	iii
Chapter	
I. PREPARING FOR THE KINGDOM (to 1861)	1
II. THE WAR COMMENCES (1861)	24
III. THE YEAR OF CONFIDENCE (1862)	49
IV. OPPOSING FORCES (1863)	74
V. IN THE WORLD, BUT NOT OF THE WORLD (1864)	104
VI. FACING REALITY (1865)	122
VII. EPILOGUE	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY	144

INTRODUCTION

I had intended originally to write on another subject and had begun the research. However, in the process of perusing sources available, a related subject captured my interest. The Mormon prophecy relating to the Civil War had been a source of my belief in the efficacy of latter-day revelation. I was under the impression that my Church was extremely interested in current events as indication of the fulfillment of prophecy. I theorized that if such a direct, detailed prophecy as the one received in 1832 by Joseph Smith, began to unfold in our day, considerable excitement would be aroused. Perhaps there was a great deal to understand about the Mormon reaction in 1861.

The next step involved investigating if anyone else had covered the subject. Margaret M. Fisher had written an account of the Mormons' part in the Civil War. In introducing the subject she discussed the Mormon patriotic position during the conflict. At this point my research into the Journal of Discourses had uncovered pointed criticism against the government of the United States by Mormon speakers. A conflict was evident. I was encouraged to investigate original sources to discover the influence of the Civil War on the Mormons.

The research for this thesis made it necessary to understand the political activity of the Mormons. The establishment

of a political Kingdom of God based on divine justice was their primary goal. The Mormons were ambitious empire-builders with the intent of setting up a temporal as well as a spiritual kingdom in the mountain tops. All of this was done in fulfillment of prophecy. Signs were carefully observed to indicate when events were to take place. The prophecy relating to the War which was to commence in South Carolina and spread to all nations of the earth was indication that the Mormons would soon assume political power.

Hence, as the War commenced the Mormons watched for the wicked to destroy the wicked and waited for the righteous to turn to the Mormon Kingdom as the only just government on the earth. They aligned themselves with neither North nor South but considered themselves the saviors of the Constitution and rulers of the world under divine direction. My thesis deals with the details of this involvement.

I found that the excitement of the War permeated the everyday life of the Mormons. The poetry, songs, speeches, letters, diaries and even their dreams reflect the impact the Civil War had on them. The "Journal History" recorded this interesting dream:

Albert P. Rockwood reports that he was at Center-ville, Davis Co., on Tuesday, the 26th of February, 1861, and staid at Bishop Smith's and went to bed at 10 o'clock with Pres. Jos. Young, when he dreamed the following:

"I was in a place that I was not well acquainted with; still the country looked something familiar. On a rising piece of ground which overlooked a valley below I saw a lot of logs gathered together and a lot of men appeared to be laying up a log house. I went down to see and hear what was going on. When I got there the foundation appeared to be laid and the logs about

3 ft. high. I was acquainted with one of the men, old Priest Howe (whom I knew about 30 years ago, and who has been dead about 15 years). He appeared to be acting the part of a chaplain; another conspicuous man was a tall elderly man with gray hair, who appeared to have the superintendency of the work. The balance of the men appeared to be generally respectable looking, middle age men, and well dressed. These men were gathered together to roll up a log on the east side; it was suspended part way up when it broke in two; I asked who was the foreman of the job and was told his name was Belteshazzar.¹ He observed that the log was broken when sliding it from the mountains. The men then went to roll up another log, which split in two the whole length of the log; they then went to raise a log on the west side which proved to be too short; another was then raised which was rotten at the end, so that it broke right off; then they went to get up another log, which looked very sound, but when they turned it over, they saw a bunch in the middle, as big as a half bushel. One of them took an axe to chop off the lump, when it was found to be hollow. At this stage of the game, one of the workmen asked Belteshazzar, "How many logs he had," when he was answered, "34." The workmen then went to roll up a log on the south side of the building. When they were rolling the log up on the south side, the bark slipped off several of the logs, and as it slipped off, there were many large black worms, from one to three inches long, which fell among the workmen which annoyed them very much. The excitement awoke me."

Wilford Woodruff, gives the following interpretation: "The place was Washington, the 34 logs represents the 34 States of the Union, the men were the members of Congress, the foundation was the Constitution--Old Priest Howe, represents the spiritually dead chaplains, the tall elderly man was James Buchanan, the other men were the politicians of the day, the log on the east side represents the secession of South Carolina, Belteshazzar represents the President of the United States, the log that was broken by the sliding off the mountain was the sending the army to Utah to make war on the Saints, the log that was split in two is the division of the north and the south, the log on the west side that was too short was New Mexico. These logs represent the corrupt states of the government, for there was more or less defects in all of them. The bark slipping off several logs on the south disclosing the large black worms, represents the Niggers, who have been a source of trouble to the politicians for some years."²

¹In the Bible Belteshazzar was the last king of Babylon.

²"Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Feb. 26, 1861.

I appreciate the fine library at the Logan L.D.S. Institute of Religion; the cooperation of the Church Historian's Office in allowing me to read the "Journal History" of the Church, the letters of William H. Hooper, and the Wilford Woodruff Journals; Yale University for furnishing me with microfilm of Brigham Young's letters to Hooper, delegate to Congress during the Civil War; Utah State Historical Society which provided many interesting diaries and pertinent information; and the Utah State University Library for providing the public documents, Civil War literature, and microfilms dealing with Utah Territory. Contributions of contemporary historians in the Utah Historical Quarterly were depended upon. Hyrum Andrus, Homer G. Durham, James Clark, and Dale O. Morgan contributed to my understanding of the Mormon belief in the Kingdom of God and of the methods the Mormons employed in establishing their political organization. I am especially indebted to Klaus J. Hansen who has written on the political kingdom and the Council of Fifty. I acknowledge the assistance of my graduate committee: Stanford Cazier, Chairman; Douglas Alder; and Klaus J. Hansen.

The study has been rewarding. I feel there is much material still to be investigated. I desire to refine and expand the ideas developed in this thesis.

CHAPTER I
PREPARING FOR THE KINGDOM
(to 1861)

I suppose you will have read of the fuss we have had down here in old Virginny, caused by an armed band of Abolitionists seizing the United States Arsenal situated at a place called Harper's Ferry, with the intention of freeing the Slaves, and murdering all who opposed them. The people of Richmond were in a great state of excitement. All the Militia were called to go up to the scene of rebellion, and Militia from many other places to [help], soldiers enough to eat [?] up all the insurgents, they took them however prisoners and some got killed. They were then tryed for Treason and Murder--found guilty--and condemned. Jno Brown the leader was hung Dec 2nd, 4 others on the 16th. I expect it will cause the Congress or Parliament here to get at loggerheads on the slavery question. This is what the Saints are looking for, for a division between Northern and Southern States, and a rebellion first in South Carolina and also a rebellion amongst the Slaves. And therefore we intend to get the means to take us to the Valley, away from such scenes.¹

An event has unique ramifications as it affects a particular group of people and is interpreted by them. The Civil War held special significance for the Mormons because of beliefs they held and prophecies given exclusively to them. The Mormon position adopted toward the Federal Government during the War was influenced by the persecutions the Saints had suffered because of their beliefs and their way of making them come to pass. Even though the United States had neither time nor resources to devote to Utah, the Mormons were concerned

¹Personal letter written by Hannah Laprish in 1859, from Richmond, Virginia, to relatives in Folkestone, Kent, England. The original letter is in the possession of Kenneth Rich, Logan, Utah.

with every detail of the inter-state conflict.

The literal establishment of the Kingdom of God was the principle goal of the Mormons. The Saints were not unique in their belief in the actuality of the Kingdom but they were unique in the methods they employed in facilitating its institution.² On March 11, 1844, an important meeting was held by the Prophet Joseph Smith to organize the political machinery prerequisite to the Kingdom.³ The governing body formed was designated the Council of Fifty, and existed as "the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the earth, and from which all Law emanates, for the rule, government, and controle of all Nations, Kingdoms and Toungs and People under the whole Heaven."⁴ James R. Clark further

²Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1940), pp. 325-330. Gabriel discusses the Kingdom of God as the "democratic dream come true."

³For details of this organization see Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1958); James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, April, 1958, pp. 131-148; Klaus J. Hansen, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History, (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1966), Galley.

⁴John D. Lee Diary as quoted by Klaus J. Hansen, "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," Brigham Young University Studies, II (Spring-Summer, 1960), 240.

On April 6, 1845, Brigham Young issued a "Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to all the Kings of the World, to the President of the United States, And to the Rulers and Peoples of all Nations." This document expressed some of the plans of the Council of Fifty. The document said: "Know ye that the Kingdom of God has come, as has been predicted by ancient prophets, and prayed for in all ages; even that Kingdom which shall

discusses the political purpose of the Council. Only one legitimate government was to be recognized.

All other governments were considered to be subordinate and inferior, including the government of the United States, even though its Constitution was held to be divinely inspired. Uniquely, the government of the United States, as provided in the Constitution of 1789, was recognized as divinely approved in principles and was intended to serve the needs of the people and protect them in their God-given rights until the Government of God could be established.⁵

The Council, composed of Mormons and non-Mormons numbering approximately 50, laid plans for the organization of the Government of God.⁶ The purpose of the Council was not to convert people to the Church but to organize an equitable form of government based on the laws of God. The Council of Fifty planned the exodus from Illinois, determined the destination and set up the provisional government upon arriving in the Great Basin. In 1849, a Constitution was drawn up for the

fill the whole earth and shall stand forever. . . . as this work progresses on its onward course, and becomes more and more an object of political and religious interest and excitement, no king, ruler, or subject--no community or individual will stand neutral; all will at length take sides either for or against the Kingdom of God. . . ." (Access to this "Proclamation" which is neither in the Journal History or published Documentary History was provided to G. Homer Durham by William Lund, Assistant Church Historian.) See G. Homer Durham, "A Political Interpretation of Mormon History," Pacific Historical Review, XIII, No. 1 (June, 1944), 141.

⁵James R. Clark, "Council of Fifty," pp. 137-138.

⁶The extent and inclusiveness of the Kingdom of God is discussed by Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government, pp. 38-39.

proposed State of Deseret. Dr. John M. Bernhisel was sent to Washington to petition Congress for a territorial government as preparation for obtaining statehood.⁷ Colonel Thomas Kane, a friend and adviser to the Mormons, offered this warning:

You are better off without any government from the hands of congress than with a territorial government. The political intrigues of government will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you. I would prefer to see you withdraw the Bill rather than to have a territorial government, for if you are defeated in the state government, you can fall back on it again at another session, if you have not a territorial government; but if you have, you cannot apply for a state of government for a number of years. I insist upon it. You do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you, with military epaulettes and dress, who will speculate out of you all they can. . . . You do not want two governments. You have a government now, which is firm and powerful, and you are under no obligation to the United States. . . . If you have a state government, men may come along and say "I am judge," "I am colonel," "I am governor." You can whistle and ask no odds of them. But while you have a territorial government you cannot do it. The first thing you know, a strong political party is rising in your midst, selfish and against your interests.⁸

However, the balance between slave and free states and reservations toward the Mormon practices precluded the possibility of obtaining statehood.⁹ Territorial status was granted in 1850. President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young

⁷Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government, pp. 115-117.

⁸Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City: 1930), III, 405-406.

⁹For a discussion of the denial of statehood see George S. Ellsworth, "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 1 (Winter, 1963), 60-61.

territorial Governor. Until 1857, the government ran smoothly with Brigham Young acting as both spiritual and temporal leader. The Mormons memorialized Congress again in 1856 for acceptance as the State of Deseret. Again statehood was denied but Brigham Young continued to govern by the law of the Constitution of Deseret. He announced that the Kingdom of God was actually organized. Klaus J. Hansen explains that "the prophet was referring to the political, not the ecclesiastical kingdom of God."¹⁰

The Kingdom of God and its secular activities, reminiscences of injustices suffered by the Saints in their expulsion from Missouri and Illinois, and predictions concerning the fate of the degenerate nation led to accusations of treason.¹¹ Public opinion was further aroused because of Mormon persistence in practicing polygamous marriages. They were included in the "popular sovereignty" movement,¹² and in the 1856 Republican Party Platform polygamy was coupled

¹⁰Hansen, Political Kingdom, Galley, 53 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹¹Dale O. Morgan, "State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1940, 133-135. Morgan explains that the Mormons believed themselves to be living in an age of apostacy.

¹²Senator Stephen A. Douglas' position on the Mormons and "popular sovereignty" can be found in Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, 1847-1869, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 458-459.

"Senator Douglas, who was well versed in the tribulations of the Saints and personally acquainted with their leaders, had advised with and befriended them time and again during his years at Washington. . . . Hence the astonishment of the Saints in reading the sensational attack on them in the Springfield speech, said to be the bid for the Democratic nomination

with slavery as the "twin relic of barbarism."¹³ However, Klaus Hansen claims that "Mormon desire for self-rule, under the auspices of the political Kingdom of God, . . . was the major bone of contention."¹⁴ George Q. Cannon held a similar opinion. He believed that the Federal Government distrusted and feared the Mormons' eventual political triumph.

It is in this spirit [distrust] that some have viewed the Constitution of the State of Deseret. They admit it is republican in form and essence, and contains nothing inconsistent with the Federal Constitution; but their scrutinizing observation pierces through the covering which it affords, and divines the purposes of the Mormons after they obtain admittance into the Union as a State! They profess to be very much afraid that the 'disgusting doctrines' of the Saints will be engrafted upon the fundamental law, and their 'corruption' be spread abroad to the contamination of the people; and though they effect to dispise them, they cannot divest themselves of the presentiment that they will

and the presidential chair. Rumor and report, said he, had brought word that nine-tenths of the Utah inhabitants were alien and disloyal. . . . Another allegation to which Senator Douglas lent credence was 'That the Mormon Government, with Brigham Young at its head, is now forming alliances with Indian tribes in Utah and adjoining Territories--stimulating the Indians to acts of hostility--and organizing bands of their own followers under the name of "Danites or Destroying Angels," to prosecute a system of robbery and murders upon American citizens, who support the authority of the United States, . . . Powerful beyond measure by reason of his chairmanship of the great Committee on Territories, this national leader gave virtual acceptance and wide publicity to the rumors and reports, . . . Political expediency had seemingly dictated that Douglas win the support of the populace by a scathing denunciation of the Mormons,. . . Unquestionably this foremost spokesman of the Democratic party had done incalculable injury to the cause of the Saints by guiding his "popular sovereignty" followers into a policy of hostility to Mormondom . . .

¹³For details of the "twin relic of barbarism" see Richard D. Poll "The Mormon Question, 1850-1865: A Study in Politics and Public Opinion," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1948.

¹⁴Hansen, The Political Kingdom, Galley, 70 $\frac{1}{2}$.

eventually triumph. Their presentiment is correct. The triumph of Mormonism has ceased to be problematical with us--we know we will continue to triumph. It is a glorious consolation that we have, that, whether men deal out invective and abuse, or praise and flatter us, whether they oppose or aid us, whether we are admitted into the Union or refused this privilege, Mormonism will progress. . . .¹⁵

Distrust, fear or expediency reached the peak in 1857. President James Buchanan ordered a military force to accompany his newly appointed Governor, Alfred Cumming to the Utah Territory.¹⁶ Governor Cumming and other federal appointed officials took office but Brigham Young continued to be the spiritual and temporal leader of the people. Norman F. Furniss discusses the futility of the so-called Utah War. ". . . whether the ultimate authority was the federal government or the Mormon Church remained unanswered."¹⁷ The Council of Fifty and the political organization continued to operate behind the scenes as a so-called "ghost government."

¹⁵George Q. Cannon, Writings from the "Western Standard," Article dated May 17, 1856, (Liverpool: G. Q. Cannon, 1864), pp. 106-107.

¹⁶Edward W. Tullidge, Living during the Civil War Era, rendered an interesting interpretation of the Utah War and its relationship to the later inter-state struggle. Tullidge felt that the Utah War set a precedent for employing federal forces to control state sovereignty. He claimed that much the same issue of popular sovereignty was involved in the Utah War of 1857-1858 as was later involved in the Civil War in 1861. Tullidge saw Utah as a trial run. "The Utah War will be viewed as a grand assertion of States rights and the principles of self-government. And mark how soon after the Mormons had tested their constitutional cause it became a national controversy in which the whole United States were involved." Edward W. Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young, (New York:1876), pp. 344-345.

¹⁷Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 205.

In reality the federally established government of Utah was the de jure government; the State of Deseret was the de facto government; and the Council of Fifty or General Council was the policy-making body for the civil government of Utah from 1848 to 1870, if not later.¹⁸

War was considered a necessary prerequisite to the spread of the Kingdom.¹⁹ Old Testament prophecies substantiated this belief. Specifically pertinent was the revelation received by Joseph Smith on December 25, 1832.²⁰

Verily, thus saith the Lord concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion in South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls; And the days will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at this place. For behold, the Southern States shall be divided by the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call upon other nations, and then war shall be poured out upon all nations. And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war. And it shall come to pass also that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceedingly angry and shall vex the Gentiles with a

¹⁸Clark, "Council of Fifty," p. 143.

¹⁹Hansen, Political Kingdom of God, Galley, 10.

²⁰B. H. Roberts, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (2nd ed. revised; Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Co., 1959), I, 301. Joseph Smith explained conditions at the time and revelation was received. ". . . the people in South Carolina in convention assembled [in November] passed ordinances, declaring their state a free state and independent nation; and appointed Thursday, the 31st day of January, 1833, as a day of humiliation and prayer, to implore Almighty God to vouchsafe His blessings, restore liberty and happiness within her borders. President Jackson issued his proclamation against the rebellion, called out a force sufficient to quell it, and implored the blessings of God to assist the nation to extricate itself from the horrors of the approaching and solemn crisis." On December 25, 1832, Prophet Joseph Smith received the revelation and prophecy on war now contained in Section 87 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

sore vexation. And thus, with sword and by bloodshed the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn, and with famine, and plague, and earthquake, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightening also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath, and indignation, and chastening hand of an Almighty God, until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations; that the cry of the Saints and the blood of the Saints shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies. Wherefore, stand ye in holy places and be not moved, until the day of the Lord come; for behold it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amen.²¹

Foreknowledge of the ensuing conflict created several reactions characteristic to the Mormons. The stand they adopted during the conflict was directly attributable to their belief in this revelation. The war was inevitable. Whereas others might predict that peaceful solutions could avert war, the Mormons knew it would come to pass. Historians

²¹Pearl of Great Price, (1844 ed.), p. 35.

The Deseret News, Sept. 25, 1861, ran an interesting editorial entitled "The Present Revolution Foretold Sixty-five Years Ago." It is inserted here to show that the Mormons themselves at this time did not profess a monopoly on the belief that the United States would be involved in a Civil War. "One of the English field officers, who served against the United States during the Revolutionary war, after his return to England, wrote an account of his life and adventures, which was published in London in 1801. In many respects he was a remarkable man, but most remarkable in the prophecies he uttered at Philadelphia about the year 1793, which were published in his autobiography in 1801. These prophecies now coming to pass constituted portions of a conversation held at the dinner table of General Dickenson, . . .

"Upon a certain occasion only a few weeks after peace had been definitely concluded between the Thirteen Colonies, become Independent States, and Great Britain, General Dickenson requested the Englishman's opinion of our Government and its stability. His reply was as follows:

'Sir, as long as General Washington and the principal military characters and leading men in Congress, who have brought this revolution, are alive, the Government will remain as it is, united; but, when all of you are in your graves, there will be wars and rumors of war in this country. There are too many different interests

have exerted much effort trying to discover the causes of the Civil War, but with inconclusive results. Why was it impossible to reach some compromise? As historians look back on the conflict, the evident futility of going to battle over the issues seems baffling. Reasoning human beings could have been expected to reach peaceful understanding and settlement of differences. Religious alarm was running high at this time. Many considered the Devil loosed, brandishing his

in it for them to unite under one government. Just as this war commenced, you were going to fight among yourselves, and would have fought had the British not interfered. You, then, one and all, united against us as your common enemy; but one of these days the Northern and Southern powers will fight as vigorously against each other as they both have united to do against the British.

'I will risk a further opinion relative to America: Should I live to a good old age, I am confident that I shall hear of the Northern and Southern powers in America waging war with each other; when one party will solicit assistance from France, and the other from Great Britain. . . .'

In addition to the revelation quoted above, the Mormons often referred to the prophecy in Daniel 2:31-45, whereby they interpreted the little stone to be themselves which would smite the image (the United States) with feet of clay and iron on the toe, causing its downfall. The kingdom set up by God would never be destroyed. Daniel's interpretation of King Nebuchadnezzar's dream was the basis for much of their conjecture concerning their role during the Civil War years. However, the Mormons were not alone in attempting to apply this scripture to latter-days. Elder Cannon records a series of lectures given by Prof. Liebe of Australia, wherein he "maintained that the government of the United States is the kingdom Daniel speaks about, and that a new era in the history of the world is about to take place in this kingdom." Elder Cannon devoted the remainder of his article refuting this interpretation and substantiating his belief that the Latter-day Saints were establishing the kingdom spoken of. Cannon, Writings in "Western Standard," p. 380.

fury.²² Mormon leaders interpreted the Civil War as the Lord's revenge for the murder of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the unjust treatment of the Saints by the Federal Government. Upon receiving word of the approach of the United States troops in 1857, Brigham Young said:

The Government of our country will go by the board through its own corruption, and no power can save it. Mormonism will take an almighty stride into influence and power, while our enemies will sink and become weaker and weaker and be no more; and I know it just as well now as I shall five years hence.²³

In strong terms the "Lion of the Lord" discoursed on the fate of the nation.

. . . the 'harmonious democracy' that undertook to destroy this people, broke in pieces in the State where the Lord, twenty-eight years ago, on the 25th of next December, revealed to the Prophet Joseph that the nation would begin to break. But I do not wish to make a political speech, nor to have anything to do with the politics and parties in our government. They love sin, and roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongues. Had they the power, they would dethrone Jehovah; had they the power, they would crucify every Saint there is upon the earth; they would not leave upon the earth one alive in whose veins runs the blood of the Priesthood . . . But they are broken in pieces. Do I wish to predict this. No, for it was predicted long ago. The nation that has lifted itself against the Kingdom of God is already shivered to pieces. Touch it, and it will crumble under your touch. The cohesiveness of its particles is gone--They cannot cling together, and they will be sifted as with a seive of vanity. God's controversy with them has commenced; he has commenced with

²²Anyone looking at the Civil War years from a religious standpoint would be alarmed at the intensity of the hatred and the extent of evil that prevailed on all levels of society--even among the higher echelons holding seats in Congress. There was no compromising--bitter words, duels, fights and all kinds of force prevailed. Men seemed to lose all reason. See Fawn Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1959).

²³Journal of Discourses, IX (Sept. 13, 1857), 5.

this nation, and in its turn he will sift every nation there is upon the face of the earth.²⁴

Emotions ran high nationwide and the Mormons' discourses were typical of the verbal explosions of the era. Their speeches, however, were firmly grounded in their beliefs in the literal establishment of the Kingdom of God and their belief in its imminency because of the revelations they possessed.

Elder George Q. Cannon as early as 1856 had written, in the Western Standard, an article entitled "Danger of Dissolution" in which he discussed the assignment of the Latter-day Saints in "preserving and maintaining the constitution" after the inevitable dissolution.

Until the [Mormons'] counsel is obeyed, until the principles he [Joseph Smith] taught are received, the danger of dissolution will increase, and enmity, violence and internecine war . . . be witnessed throughout the land. . . . If the inhabitants of this nation persist in the course they are now taking, . . . regardless of the warnings so faithfully given, dissolution is inevitable, and, to the people who shun these evils, will be assigned the high privilege of preserving and maintaining the Constitution. That people will be the Latter-day Saints.²⁵

The Mormons were avid sign-watchers. Daily events existed as clues to the next step they should take in fulfilling the word of the Lord. In 1860, William H. Hooper was sent as delegate to Congress. During his term of office he was admonished by Brigham Young to correspond by every mail, keeping him posted on developments. The importance of

²⁴Journal of Discourses, VIII (Brigham Young, Oct. 7, 1860), 195.

²⁵Cannon, Writings in "Western Standard," pp. 210-214.

keeping up on the news could not be overemphasized. The unreliability of the mails in 1859 and 1860 was a source of major irritation to President Young. In his letter to Hooper, dated February 23, 1860, he described this difficulty:

The papers you refer to as being regularly mailed, in considerable variety seldom come to hand, and the few that arrive are mostly long behind time, but with them, some of the exchange papers, and those the brethren kindly bring to the office, we keep tolerably well advised of affairs as they appear in print. Still you are aware that we are more or less privileged with telegraphic communications from a reliable fountain of information, by which we are enabled to know far more of doings and their results than is published in the papers of the day.²⁶

The main theme of the correspondence between Hooper and President Young during this precarious period before the outbreak of the war was the necessity of keeping well-informed on the latest developments. President Young asked of Hooper: "Upon the first opportunity, please ask our Friend [evidently referred to Col. Thomas Kane] what his views now are in relation to the permanency of our Union. The events that have transpired since he was here are strongly confirmatory that unaided human wisdom can foresee but little and only a short distance."²⁷

It is extremely interesting in observing the Mormon periodicals, the Millennial Star and the Deseret News, to discover how well-informed the Mormons were on every political subject and event. The interpretation of these events was

²⁶"Brigham Young's Letters to Delegate Hooper," Coe Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., February 23, 1860. (Microfilmed copy is in this writer's possession.)

²⁷Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Dec. 27, 1860.

colored by their basic beliefs, but the facts were certainly made available to the Saints.

In order to keep his constituents posted in relation to matters as they were transpiring at this important crisis, Hooper seemingly wrote a form letter to the settlements of Utah requesting lists of their citizens and also arranged that each Ward or settlement would receive a weekly copy of the New York Herald. He had ordered 50 copies for this purpose. Hooper was "very desirous that the people generally should be informed upon matters that are transpiring politically in this Nation at the present time."²⁸

²⁸ "William H. Hooper Letter Books," Church Historian's Office, I (Dec. 8, 1860), 649. (The letter is written by Hooper.)

Hooper's information must have been quite influential in affecting the Mormon leaders' planning for the future. An example of this is contained in a letter dated Nov. 23, 1860: "St. Louis is almost irrevocably gone, probably no City in the U.S. that is laboring under the same pecuniary embarrassments, and which will probably suffer to the same extent from the political troubles that are now brewing. St. Louis prospered magically during the periods of her friendship with us --she turned her hand against us--We see what follows. In the troubles that are now brewing, and Missouri may be the seat of war, is not there an opening for our return to Jackson Co.? I cannot refrain from seriously reflecting upon this matter which has taken a deep hold of me." Hooper Letter Books, II, 26-30.

A month later on December 29, 1860, Charles A. Lambert recorded the Sunday services in his personal journal. "Br. B. Young arose and spoke with great power; spoke of the delinquency of the U.S. they had brought on themselves through wicked rulers in the eyes of the Nations, said their doom was fixed. Exhorted those professing to be saints to quit their drinking, swearing, lying, stealing and to cleanse their hearts and sanctify themselves before the Lord as the line would be soon drawn and those that would not obey council would not have his fellowship as none but the pure in heart would be allowed to return to Jackson Co. to build the centre Stake of Zion. I pray that me and my family may be ready." Charles S. Lambert Journal, Utah State Historical Society.

With whom would the Mormons align themselves if war became an actuality? Because of relationships with the Federal Government in previous years, during the expulsion from Illinois and Missouri and the Utah War, and depending on the words of the Mormon leaders, one would judge they held no great love for the Union cause. Apostle Orson Hyde had said:

. . . we can never feel right toward the United States till they hang the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, punish the miserable incendiaries that burned our houses, grain, and fence,--that drove us from country to country, and from State to State, and, last of all, drove us into this wilderness to perish; and, fearing now, if we are let alone, that we shall grow into strength sufficient to chastise our enemies ourselves, a military force is sent against us to crush us out; and fear, inspired by guilt is the very cause of this demonstration . . . against us.

. . . the Government will always be troubled with the Mormons in this world and the world to come; but the Mormons will not always be troubled with the Government. The more they meddle with Mormon affairs, the more difficult and awkward they will find them. . . .

The volume of information Hooper sent is indicated in a letter dated Dec. 31, 1860, to George A. Smith, Church Historian: "I forward weekly to Pres. Young from 20 - 25 packages of clippings from the various newspapers of the country, which contain the general items bearing upon the present troubles existing in this Nation which I presume are handed over to you. . . . I am also keeping a "daily journal" and endeavor to jot down every item which I think would be useful as matters of history, which "journal" I believe will be turned over to you on my return to Utah." Hooper Letter Books, II, 125. If this journal was turned into the Church Historian's Office and was accessible perhaps a better insight into the Mormons' plans and activities during this period could be offered.

Transmittal of news had been greatly facilitated. Whereas it had taken five months to receive news of Buchanan's election, the Mormons knew of Lincoln's election at 11:10, November 13th by express from St. Joseph, Mo. "Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Nov. 15, 1860. This comparatively speedy receipt of news may have had some effect in keeping the Saints excited and creating the spirit of immediacy that existed during the Civil War.

What the world calls "Mormonism" will rule every nation. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young will be the head. God has decreed it and his own right arm will accomplish it.²⁹

Although it was evident during the Civil War years that the Mormons had nothing good to say about the Federal Government they made a distinction between the rulers and the rules. Believing that the Constitution had been divinely inspired they held to the laws. Brigham Young said: "Will the Constitution be destroyed? No. It will be held inviolate by this people; and as Joseph Smith said, 'The time will come when the destiny of the nation will hang upon a single thread. At that critical juncture, this people will step forth and save it from threatened destruction.' It will be so."³⁰

They were determined never to war against the "principles and form" of the national government. They expressed their love for the "good and just" laws. However, the blame against those who were perverting the laws and "sapping the foundation" of the Government were subject to the severe tongue lashings of the Mormons.³¹

²⁹Journal of Discourses, VII, 51-53.

³⁰Journal of Discourses, VII (Brigham Young, July 4, 1854), 15.

³¹Richard F. Burton, a British Army Captain and an explorer, traveled to Great Salt Lake City during the early 1860's. He recorded his impression of the Mormon patriotism in this manner: "This people declares its belief 'in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.' They are not backward in open acts of loyalty--I beg America's pardon--of adhesion to the Union, such as supplying stones for the Washington Monument and soldiers for the Mexican War. But they make scant pretension of patriotism. They regard the

To further complicate the outsiders' estimate of the Mormons' allegiance were the beliefs they held concerning slavery and the rights of Negroes. The Mormons believed in a curse based on Cain's sin. To exert human effort to remove the "curse of servitude" was considered "vain and useless, . . . labor lost, and answers no end, only so far as it serves to multiply the difficulties and perplexities which are arising in this generation, . . . When God has decreed a certain way for men to be in servitude, and has designed they shall hold that position, it is worse than

States pretty much as the States regarded England after the War of Independence, . . . Theirs is a deep and abiding resentment, which time will strengthen, nor efface; the deeds of Missouri and Illinois will bear fruit for many and many a generation. The federal government, they say, has so far from protecting their lives and property, left them to be burned out driven away by the hands of a mob, . . . But, more galling still to human nature, whether of saint or sinner, they are despised, 'treated, in fact, as nobodies'--and that last of insults who can bear? . . . A favorite toast on public occasions is, 'We can rock the cradle of Liberty without Uncle Sam to help us,' and so forth. These sentiments show how the wind sets. In two generations hence--perhaps New Zion has a prophet-making air--the Mormons in their present position will, on their own ground, be more than a match for the Atlantic, and, combined with the Chinese, will be dangerous to the Pacific States." Richard Burton, The City Of The Saints (New York: Harper and Brother, Publishers, 1862), pp. 250-251.

Franklin D. Daines also commented on the Mormons' position. "The Mormons were certainly loyal to the Union in their way, but their way needs interpreting. As to the great sectional conflict itself, they aimed to maintain a neutrality in thought and deed, with a slight leaning in thought, perhaps, toward the South, and in deed toward the North, in something in which they had no right to interfere. There was then, it was thought, a bond of sympathy between the Confederates and the people of Utah. The Unionists were trying to destroy the Constitution as much as were the Secessionists. The despised Mormons were hence the only loyalists. Such were the statements made." See Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question," p. 257.

useless for any man or set of men to undertake to put them in a position to rule."³² It was made clear by many statements in this vein that they considered freeing the slaves a dangerous process. Combined with the implication of States' rights involved in the Utah War, it seemed logical to some to align the Mormons with the Southern secessionists. However, the Mormons fervently accused North and South of being in the wrong. During the Civil War, the Mormons stood alone, indeed not as neutral, but as a righteous power destined to save the Constitution and finally to rule all nations. The exact process to be employed was not spelled out. As a people, they existed as tools in the hands of the Lord. They did not "stand idly looking on."

Most interesting in the Mormons' pre-war preparations were the activities suggested in the correspondence of 1860 between President Young and Delegate William H. Hooper. It is evident that the Mormon political body was figuring as many angles as possible in order to be prepared for the full establishment of the Kingdom of God. Much of their planning was done in secret meetings creating some confusion in

³²Journal of Discourses, III (George A. Smith), 29. See also Millennial Star, I and II (Sept. 1840), 109-110; Millennial Star, XIII (Feb. 15, 1861), 63; Poll, "The Mormon Question," p. 52; Journal of Discourses, II (Brigham Young, Dec. 2, 1854), 142-142; Journal of Discourses, II (Brigham Young, Feb. 18, 1855), 172; Journal of Discourses, II (George A. Smith, Mar. 18, 1855), 216; Journal of Discourses, IV (Brigham Young, Aug. 31, 1856), 39-40; Journal of Discourses, VI (Ezra T. Benson, Jan. 24, 1858), 180.

determining the real intentions of the Mormons during this period. The aura of secrecy is evident in the set of letters from Brigham Young to Hooper:

Captain, what shall we do, when we annex all of Mexico? We have not enough blacks to settle the country, to raise the cotton, rice, and tobacco that are wanted. If any of them do ship from Africa, tell them not to say a word about, nor in any way let it be known.

Keep your beard straight and strictly combed back, so as not to hinder the cars when you ride; though I recollect that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither riches to men of wisdom." the 'old ship' will make the port, leaving to us the easy task of simply being on board, each one faithful at the post assigned him. The cars will also start at the time appointed as Br. George A. dreamed.³³ (Words were underlined in the original.)

To interpret the implications of the contents of this letter would be strictly conjecture. It is evident that the Mormon leaders had ambitious plans for immense expansion of the Kingdom. President Young and William H. Hooper apparently had private words to indicate their political intentions. Evidently "cars" referred to a certain process that had been originally indicated in a dream of Apostle George A. Smith. In a letter dated March 1, 1860 further reference is made to the word, "cars."

Aside from your advices of January 31, we rest assured that you will use all diligence and effort in behalf of the rights of Utah, but you are aware that the cars will not start until the Lord pleases, and then they will move off without any apparent cause. With this consideration you will perceive that it simply remains for us to operate to the best advantage our judgment and facilities will permit, and leave results where they belong,

³³Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Dec. 1, 1859.

without becoming despondent or discouraged with the little we may seem to accomplish.³⁴

Despite the precarious future predicted for the Union, Delegate Hooper carried the petitions and memorials requesting Statehood to the 1860 Session of Congress. Klaus J. Hansen explains that the Mormons "attempted to gain admission to the Union in order to escape its authority." To have the Federal officials out of the way would have simplified the complicated process that was being planned at this time, and it is very probable that such reasoning as Hansen advances was employed by the Mormons.³⁵ Brigham Young suggested the strategy that Hooper should use in petitioning for statehood in a letter dated January 5th, 1860.

Congress will, probably, as heretofore be somewhat troubled as to what to do with Utah. To help them out of their dilemma, and to help them solve the problem in a way most beneficial, and just, and republican to all concerned, you will be pleased at the earliest opportunity, to present our Memorial, Constitution and other documents pertaining to our being admitted as a State; and you and your and our friends will be so good as to urge our admission with all the energy and influence you and they can bring to bear. We have one Friend there who, we are well assured, is doing all he can in favor that Congress deal justly by Utah; and we are well aware

³⁴Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Mar. 1, 1860.

An entry in the "Journal History" of the Church also refers to the term. "I often think of the dreams you had in Washington. The Cars are getting nicely under way without our help and the sword cast at Utah is turned upon their own heads." "Journal History," June 26, 1861.

Other letters from Hooper that discuss the impending crisis are found in the "Hooper Letter Books," II (Dec. 26, 1860), 106; (Dec. 27, 1860), 113; (Dec. 31, 1860), 125; (Jan. 1, 1861), 134.

³⁵Hansen, The Political Kingdom of God, Galley, 58 $\frac{1}{2}$.

that his efforts are attended with much influence in the right quarters.³⁶

Indeed, this was not the session to admit Deseret. Heated debate and delay prolonged the routine matter of choosing a Speaker of the House. By February 16, 1860, Brigham Young was giving Hooper alternative directions if there proved "to be no chance for our admission."³⁷ "There are so many antagonistic questions, combinations, elements, and feelings operating in Washington that there appears to be but little prospect for the transaction of much Congressional business during the present session, . . ."³⁸ It was evident to Hooper that he would not be able to accomplish his assignment. That he was failing was of considerable concern to him. Brigham Young repeatedly encouraged him in his activities: ". . . I am pleased with your course and I entertain no doubt but that you are doing all that any person could do under the circumstances." And with the humor typical of Brigham Young, used with perfect timing to relieve the tension he added; ". . . remember the 13th Commandment, 'Fret not thy gizzard because of sinners.'"³⁹

By the end of 1860 "peaceful secession" was out of the question. The election in November of Abraham Lincoln caused

³⁶Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Jan. 5, 1860.

³⁷Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Feb. 16, 1860.

³⁸Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Mar. 15, 1860.

³⁹Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Apr. 12, 1860.

much speculation on the perpetuation of peace. The Mormons questioned the public's choice, believing in the impossibility of his preserving the Union. The final letter of 1860 from President Young to Hooper sums up the Mormons' feelings.

By your letters and papers, I perceive that the secession question was still being violently agitated, but without much definite action. Latest accounts seem to indicate that the South will so far back down as to give "old Abe" a burial as to what course he will pursue. It is not surprising that men should hesitate about breaking up a Union under which so many and great civil blessings and privileges have been enjoyed; the surprise is that they have and have had no better sense than to take a course in which dissolution of the Union is sooner or later inevitable. And while public speakers, preachers, newspapers, Governors, etc., etc., are pouring forth a steady stream of inflammatory and vituperative statements, North and South, it is rather amusing to sensible persons in this attitude to note the twaddle about 'peaceable secession.'

But while the waves of commotion are whelming nearly the whole country, Utah, in her rocky fastnesses, is biding her time to step in and rescue the Constitution and aid all lovers of freedom in sustaining such laws as will secure justice and rights to all, irrespective of creed or party.⁴⁰

The waiting and preparing continued throughout the Civil War years. For Richard Poll to say, "It would be difficult to find a group . . . who were as little perturbed by the outbreak of the Civil War as the Latter-day Saints in Utah,"⁴¹ is either a vast understatement or a mistake in the choice of verbs. Indeed, the Mormons were not alarmed or surprised by the happenings of the succeeding months because of their interpretation of prophecy. It is difficult to deny that events

⁴⁰Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Dec. 20, 1860.

⁴¹Poll, "The Mormon Question," p. 254.

of the next few months were of the utmost concern to the Mormons. They were very much involved.

CHAPTER II
THE WAR COMMENCES
(1861)

Song of 1861

I

I'll sing you a song of sixty-one;
Mormons, Mormons!
For in the world there is lots of fun--
Mormons, Mormons!
They've long appeared to cut a dash,
But now they're falling all to smash.
 And so the world goes round,
 We hear a welcome sound,
 We'll soon be free and that you'll see,
 And blessings will abound.

II

It used to be in days gone by
The dogs were loose and in full cry,
But now the Mormons they don't heed
They're so determined to secede.

III

When rogues pull out it is well known
That honest folks receive their own,
And when they struggle tooth and nail
The Saints united will prevail.

IV

In Charleston blood and thunder hear
The News doth make the people stare,
But little do they think how soon
All hell will be let out for noon.

V

The Union is a rope of sand,
It's days are numbered, it can't stand,
But soon a union will be framed
And honestly will be proclaimed.

VI

We'll rally round the standard then
Which has been raised by honest men
Within our lofty mountain heights,
Where all good men can have their rights.¹

The intensity of excitement mounted in 1861. Day by day war drew nearer. The discourses, news articles and writings reflect the keenness of the anticipation the Mormons felt.

The Deseret News assured its readers:

. . . that the events that will transpire during the year eighteen hundred and sixty-one will be fully as interesting and exciting as were those of eighteen hundred and sixty. The revolution in the United States has but just commenced, and as it progresses . . . the people in these peaceful and secluded valleys will continue to be more and more interested in what may be transpiring from time to time, not only in North America but in other parts of the earth; and it will continue to be our endeavor while occupying our present position, to keep them advised of what may be going on in the world, . . .²

The Millennial Star, the Church's news media in Europe, felt equally obligated to inform its readers of every detail of the revolution. Hence, as the actuality of war drew close, the editorials urgently and dramatically rehearsed details of the coming strife. In reading these articles it is possible to feel the tremendous climatic build-up.

Speakers from the tabernacle podium preached of the approaching fury. On February 10, 1861, Brigham Young inquired:

. . . Will they patch up the old garment? Let them apply their new cloth, if they please. Mr. Crittendon has reported a patch to put on the old garment. Let them put it on and the rent will be made worse. Let them remain as they are, and the government is worn out. Is the form

¹Lester A. Hubbard, Ballads and Songs from Utah, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961), p. 443. (Written by William Willis during the first year of the Civil War.)

²Deseret News, Feb. 27, 1861, p. 412.

of the Government ruined? Has its form become evil? No, but the administrators . . . are evil. . . . The Government has as corrupt a set to administer it as God ever permitted to disgrace his footstool. There is the evil. . . .

William H. Seward is considered by many as one of the smartest men that ever was in this Government. Were it not that he had the advantages of the learning and wisdom of one of the best men of the Government--had he been a mechanic or farmer, I doubt whether he would have possessed an extra amount of knowledge. "What of his natural abilities?" I do not consider him a man of great ability. He came to Auburn, N. Y. to study law with a gentleman I well knew. That gentleman took him into his office and house a boy, and made a man of him. He was one of the most influential and best men in the country; he was a man of brain and heart, and he took all the pains possible to make something of the boy. After Mr. Seward had been with the Judge a few years, he began to be looked upon as one possessed of a considerable degree of smartness. What would he be if he was the President? Judging from his late speech, as received in a despatch, I would suppose that he hardly knew enough to find his way across the little city of Washington. The prospect of his lofty position appears to have nearly ruined his brain.

What is the difficulty with King James? His high position and exalted opinion of himself so addled and bewildered him, that he said, "I am the greatest man in the nation! I am the Chief Magistrate!"

What shall we do with such men? Perhaps we may call them honorable men of the earth, in order not to hurt the feelings of some by speaking lightly of such talent in our nation. They are so smart! Every man in Congress is so smart that he is looking to the presidential chair . . . Every man is his own counsellor, his own general, and his own governor. We used to say, when we were boys--"hurrah! Every man for himself, and the Devil for us all!" and they will find it so.

They are too wise. They will prove, by their conduct, whether they are capable of forming and sustaining a government for the Southern States that have seceded. There is no more United States. Can they amalgamate and form a government? No. Will they have ability to form a government and continue it? No, they will not. Hear it, Jew and Gentile. Suppose there is a division between the North and South, and the fifteen slave States try to form a permanent government, can they do it? I tell you they cannot. They are too smart. South Carolina is taking the lead, and says she--"We will sit as kings and queens, or revolt from you." Says Georgia--"We have as smart men in our State as you have, and we will have a President for our State." "But you cannot," says South Carolina. How long will it be before some other State,

perhaps New York, forms a separate government? And if a State has a right to secede, so has a Territory, and so has a county from a State or Territory, and a town from a county, and a family from a neighbourhood, and you will have perfect anarchy.

King James is not so prompt now as he was three years ago, when he sent troops to Utah. South Carolina comes out boldly and declares her secession from the compact of States, and takes possession of all the public property within her borders, except Fort Sumter. There is no Latter-day Saint engaged in this act. One of the most contemptible characters we ever had here could swear falsely in Washington, and the Government could receive his oath, and make it a basis, with other lies of sending an army here. William Drummond went to Washington and swore that we were treasoners, and to many palpable falsehoods; and King James could act upon that and send an army here at an expense of, probably, fifty million dollars. Says King James--"Those lies are true." What! receive a lie? Yes, go and swear to a lie, and the Government can hear that and act upon it. But when South Carolina takes possession of the public funds, of the custom-house, of the arms, arsenal, dock-yards, forts, cannon, etc.--"You must not coerce. Do not infringe upon them; they have a right to do this." What a reign is the reign of King James! It is enough to astound and throw into the shade the wisdom of all nations upon the earth!

What will King Abraham do? I do not know, neither do I care. It is no difference what he does or what any of them do. Why? God will accomplish his own purposes, and they may do or not do; they may take the road that leads to the right or they may take the road that leads to the left, and which ever road they do take, they will wish they had taken the other.³

The high pitch of emotionalism, the exclusiveness of the Mormons on the side of righteousness, the pointed criticism of all in political office, the futility of trying to avert the disaster "God wills"--all of these characteristics are contained in this stirring oration of President Brigham Young and were reiterated by the other leaders of the Mormon Church

³ Journal of Discourses, VIII, 321-324.

on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.⁴

How did the Mormons react to the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States? It is certain that they had no confidence in his ability to avert the war.⁵ It is also evident that they held no deep respect for him at this time. They were of the opinion that he was the tool for the religiously fanatic groups pressing for freedom for the slaves and that if not preoccupied with this problem he would certainly be absorbed in eliminating the Mormons.⁶

The "Journal History" of the Church records Brigham Young's estimation of President Lincoln:

. . . Abe Lincoln has sent these men here to prepare the way for an army. An order has been sent to California to raise an army to come to Utah, and this is the reason that Bell came back. I pray daily that the Lord will

⁴Millennial Star, XXIII (Jan. 19, 1861), 33-35; 59-61; (Mar. 16, 1861), 164-165. "Journal History," Mar. 3, 1861. Journal of Discourses, IX (Apr. 14, 1861), 55.

Delegate Hooper contributed to the feeling of urgency through his on the scene observations in Washington and his constant encouragement of Mormon political activity. "God has spoken and now calls for pay in the shape of retribution for the ills this Nation have visited upon the Saints and His Prophets. The die is cast. The handwriting is on the wall. The Nation of Iron and Clay can no longer hold together." Hooper Letter Books, II (Jan. 1, 1861), 134. See also, Hooper Letter Books, II (Feb. 17, 1861).

⁵Deseret News, Mar. 6, 1861. George U. Hubbard, "Abraham Lincoln As Seen By the Mormons," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 98-99.

⁶Journal of Discourses, IX (George A. Smith, Apr. 6, 1861), 17-18.

take the reins of Government out of the hands of wicked rulers and give it to wise, good men. The Governor quoted my saying about the Constitution. I do now, and always have, supported the Constitution, but I am not in league with such scoundrels as Abe Lincoln and his missions who have sought our destruction from the beginning. Lincoln has ordered an army from California, for the order has passed over on the wires.⁷ A senator from California said in Washington a short time since that the Mormons were in their way, and must be removed. Lincoln feels that he will try to destroy us, as Buchanan was unable to do so.⁸

On April 24, 1861, 12 days after the actual firing on Fort Sumter, the Deseret News banned the following headlines and published an "Extra:"

BY TELEGRAPH AND PONY.
HIGHLY IMPORTANT NEWS FROM THE STATES.
THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.
FORT SUMTER TAKEN BY THE SOUTHERN TROOPS.
PRESIDENT LINCOLN CALLS FOR 75,000 MILITIA.
AN EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS CALLED FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY.
GREAT EXCITEMENT EVERYWHERE IN THE STATES.⁹

There was 'great' excitement in Salt Lake City. Brother Wilford Woodruff commented:

. . . the North and the South are both gathering large armies and preparing for the war, the banks and rich men are contributing millions of dollars to sustain the war. The nation has persecuted the Saints of God and made them give up all, and flee from place to place to save

⁷The telegram was sent to the Governor of California on July 24, 1861. "The War Department accepts for three years one regiment of infantry and five companies of cavalry to guard the overland mail route from Carson Valley to Salt Lake and Fort Laramie."

"Colonel Waite will be put in command of department at Salt Lake City. General Sumner will detail mustering officers to muster in the men.

Secretary of State, Simon Cameron."
General Richard H. Orton (comp.), Records of California Men in the War of Rebellion, 1861-1867 (Sacramento, State Printing 1890), p. 12.

⁸"Journal History," Dec. 10, 1861.

⁹Deseret News, Apr. 24, 1861.

their lives, and now it is their persecutors' turn; for the Lord has said, He would vex the nation and he will surely to [sic] it. Civil War has begun in earnest and it will go on until the will of the Lord is done; all that they have sought to bring upon us will come to pass upon them.¹⁰

The Mormons followed every detail of the revenge against "the States of North America."¹¹ As the news was issued of secession of the Southern States, of the battles, and of military and political maneuvers it was taken as an opportunity to moralize.¹² It was evident that the Mormon revelation was unfolding as predicted. The Millennial Star on May 11, 1861 discussed the possibility of the War beginning at Fort Pickens in Florida. The Mormons knew that this could not be so. South Carolina had been predicted as the place. Editor George Q. Cannon, writing on May 11, 1861, elaborated on this point and urged the Saints in Europe to observe the "signs of the times" with "diligence and faithfulness." He continued:

¹⁰"Journal History," May 1, 1861.

¹¹Deseret News, May 8, 1861, used this expression and adds, "we have no disposition to burlesque, therefore, at the present moment we are chary in the use of the 'United.'"

In order to keep the public informed of "every detail" the Pony Express Club was reorganized in Sept. 1861, to facilitate reading the Pony Express News to larger groups. The Deseret News had not been printed for months ("Journal History," Sept. 25, 1861) because of a paper shortage, so it was decided to make news events available. Such large numbers joined the Club, "hungering and thirsting for news," that they had to meet in the school house and not in the President's Office as had formerly been done. See also "Journal History," Sept. 18, 22, and 25, 1861.

¹²The Civil War caused many to moralize on the struggle. "Von Holst, a German historian, viewed the entire course of United States history from the end of the Revolution to the outbreak of the Civil War as essentially a great moral

This war between the Southern and Northern States, which has just broken out, is a sign that should not be passed over lightly. Its testimony should be like peals of thunder in the ears of the slothful and careless in the Church. The consumption decreed, which is to make a full end of all nations has begun. . . . Now is the time for the Saints to test their faith, and see whether they have sufficient to obey the command of the Lord and to escape his threatened judgments, which will inevitably fall upon the faithless and unbelieving; . . .¹³

Gentile newspapers ran articles on the Mormon revelation and its seeming "fulfillment." The Philadelphia Sunday Mercury observed: "In view of our present troubles, this prediction seems to be in progress of fulfillment, whether Joe Smith was a humbug or not."¹⁴ The New York Bee and the Royal Leamington Spa Courier of England ran similar stories.¹⁵ Andrew L. Neff described the actual outbreak of the Civil War

struggle between absolute good and absolute evil. Good was represented by the principles of nationality and freedom, whereas evil was linked with state sovereignty and slavery." Thomas J. Pressly, Americans Interpret Their Civil War (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 74.

". . . In the volumes of Joshua Giddings and Horace Greeley the entire history of the United States was still in essence the story of a long struggle between the forces of freedom and those of slavery."

". . . Running throughout their volumes was the insistence that their cause involved principles which overshadowed the specific issues of the day and were of eternal importance. . . . free institutions were under attack from aggressive foes of liberty and their fate hung in the balance with that of the Union armies. Here were summed up all the basic features of Unionist thought about the war--the war guilt of the South for its rebellion, led by conspirators, against the free constitutional republic." Pressly, p. 51.

¹³Millennial Star, XXIII (May 11, 1861), 297-300.

¹⁴Millennial Star, XXIII (May, 1861), 404.

¹⁵Millennial Star, XXIII (May 15, 1861), 330-331, and 404.

as being "spiritual ammunition of much utility to the Mormons: (a) as a means of confirming the viewpoint that Joseph Smith was a genuine rather than spurious Prophet; (b) as a means of convincing and reconciling the Saints to the wisdom of their exodus out of wicked Babylon; and (c) as a means of substantiating the view that Diety had allowed the calamity to come in retribution for the sins of injustice perpetrated against the Saints."¹⁶

Had not the nations been sufficiently warned? The Mormons believed that had their prophets been heeded, suffering could have been averted. "The Mormons have mourned at the infatuation of the people in bringing such evils upon themselves, and have done all in their power to avert them by

¹⁶Neff, History of Utah, p. 620.

See also Millennial Star, XXIII, 755-756, for editorial on "Retributive Justice," and Millennial Star, XXIII, 581, dealing with the battles in Missouri. "Missouri, whose soil is drenched with the blood of Saints!--Missouri, over whose surface Prophets and Saints were hunted and driven with cruel and fiendish violence--has become the theatre of stirring events. . . . a fearful retribution is being exacted from the wicked inhabitants of that poor State for their base conduct towards an innocent and unresisting people; and they, with all the inhabitants of the land, are beginning to experience the fulfillment of the words of the servant of God, when he said that they should yet suffer from mobs and violence in their own midst, until they should be wasted away."

After conversing with Elder G. A. Smith, John D. Lee made the following entry in his personal diary on Feb. 14, 1861. "They [the citizens of Missouri] look for the time when the State of Mo. will be reduced to desolation by the Mormons; & some have left on that account, but that the time was near when we should go back some 15000 strong & such as Should be left from the Judgements, sword & famine would come bending to us & ask protection at our hands, then our Families would follow up in companies, as we Emigrated here, with this exception, those that will return to Jackson county be Called & chosen etc." Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (ed.), A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), I, 296-297.

warning them of their approach."¹⁷ "Since the organization of the Church, on the 6th day of April 1830, until the present, the Lord, through his servants, has been continually calling upon that nation to repent . . . and warning them of the destruction that awaited them, if they disregarded his invitation. But instead of receiving the message with gladness and thanksgiving, they have cruelly abused and maltreated the messengers for daring to deliver it."¹⁸ To the Mormons it was evident that the final destruction of the governments of the earth was commencing.

The imminency of the establishment of the Kingdom of God was a matter of utmost consideration. Early in 1861, E. W. Tullidge published several articles in the Millennial Star describing the Mormons as empire-founders. The ambition and high destiny involved in such a title were nothing to be

¹⁷Millennial Star, XXIII (Mar. 2, 1861), 138.

For descriptions of the "wickedness" of North and South, wretchedness and depravity of the Nation's cities and towns, the terrible turmoil of mobs see Journal of Discourses, IX (July 28, 1861), 143; (Sept. 10, 1861), 112; (Apr. 6, 1861), 4-5. Millennial Star, XXIII (Aug. 10, 1861), 497-498; (Sept. 21, 1861), 621; (Oct. 12, 1861), 659-662.

¹⁸Millennial Star, XXIII (Feb. 16, 1861), 100-102. See also Millennial Star, XXIII, 98-100 and 440-442.

Poll, "The Mormon Question," p. 25, contains a description of the effort to warn the nation. ". . . The strenuous missionary program undertaken by the Church in this period made it difficult for Americans to forget, even if they had been dispelled to forget, a topic so fraught with interest as Mormonism. Orson Pratt began publishing The Seer, a weekly, in Washington in January, 1853, and conducted a series of lectures until poor attendance forced their suspension. The Deseret News was freely quoted in eastern dailies, and articles, pamphlets, and anti-Mormon books appeared in quantity; so it is certain that men in government were kept aware of Utah affairs."

hidden or to be ashamed of in the eyes of the Mormons at this time. They were highly dedicated, devoted individuals who were sincere in their belief that a literal, secular kingdom would be established at that time. Tullidge describes their self-assigned role:

It is unquestionably an ambitious title that we have given to the Saints, and a high destiny that we claim for them in the character of empire founders. But we cannot understand this people, nor their mission, nor their destiny, nor the spirit that moves them nor their actual history, unless we view them in that character which so nicely fits them--namely their character of empire-founders.

In fact, according to their own peculiar type, they are essentially a religious people, with a religious object of life, a religious mission to the world, a religious work to perform, and a religious destiny to work out; and so entirely are they of a religious type, that all affairs of their lives, even to the drawing of a handcart in emigration, or plowing up the soil of new settlements, are summed up by them as so many items of their religion, and so many parts of their service towards God in the accomplishment of the great work which He has given to them to perform.

. . . the following illustrative passage of the Apostle Peter may be happily applied to them: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; . . ." and he could also add, who hath called you unto the marvellous work of building up the millennial kingdom, and to the unfolding of a divine and ultimately universal empire.

- - - - -
In consequence of not understanding and properly appreciating the Saints' peculiar type of character, and not looking at their religion from a proper point of view, they have appeared to the religious world strangely unlike the popular ideal of a religious community; and "Mormonism" has often been spoken of as a strange mixture of the religious and secular element. Of course, in speaking of this mixture, the would-be-knowing ones sprinkle it bountifully with such expressions as "fanaticism," "worldly shrewdness," etc. But these descriptive marks of the "strange people" and their "strange religion" are only so many signs that the Saints belong to the national type. Their organizations, growths, and operations embrace not only the ecclesiastical order and spiritual element, but involve also all the elements and conditions of social and national existence.

. . . This latter-day theocracy, . . . is of just such a character as the theocracy of ancient Israel. Hence the building up of cities and temples, their gathering into one body, creating new settlements, founding states, migrations across seas and land,--in ships, drawing hand-carts, driving wagons--or cultivating the earth and making the wilderness a fruitful field, and the desert the abode of civilization and industrial activity, are all . . . so many developments and features of Mormonism, . . . and are so many signs that the "Mormons" are religious empire-founders, who are fast working out their mission of building up a theocratic nation.¹⁹

Perhaps no better summary of their activity could be produced. The Mormon leaders envisioned themselves as the initiators of this great accomplishment. They believed they would "soon form the most important part of the awfully stupendous drama of the last days."²⁰ Brigham Young significantly advised Delegate Hooper:

It seems that many are looking with some hope, if not confidence, to the action of the Commissioners which met and organized in Washington on the 4th inst., apparently not yet realizing that the corruptions of the nation have sealed its doom, which will be consummated sooner or later; when that people, whom the very great majority have striven to obliterate, will step forward and sustain the falling banner and continue to honor the Heaven inspired Constitution bequeathed to us so rich a legacy by our forefathers.²¹

In view of these previous discussions, what positive action would the Mormons employ to fulfill their role? John Taylor asked his audience much the same question.

What is it that we are after? Is it to revolutionize these States of America by force, by physical power, by the sword, and by treading underfoot their right? No.

¹⁹Millennial Star, XXIII (Jan. 12, 1861), 17-20.

²⁰Millennial Star, XXIII (Feb. 23, 1861), 125. See also Journal of Discourses, IX (John Taylor, Apr. 28, 1861), 236-237.

²¹Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Feb. 11, 1861.

Are we striving to overthrow the nations, and put our feet upon the necks of men? No; . . . But is there not a kingdom that God should set up? Yes. Is not this the stone hewn out of the Mountain without hands, that is to grow into a great kingdom and fill the whole earth? It is. Then how are you going to accomplish this great work? We answer, Precisely as the Lord tells us.²²

The Mormon leaders discussed plans for the actions they had to take in view of national conditions. Their stand on the Constitution was a leading consideration in determining their next step.

John Taylor revoiced the conviction that the Constitution of the United States provided the best form of government ever to exist on the earth in his 4th of July speech of 1861.²³ Because of the abuse the Constitution was suffering at the hands of its supposed "adherents," they speculated that perhaps the Saints were "the only people that do seek the salvation of our country at the present time; and it will finally be shown that we are the only people that will stand by its principles, and make it what it was intended to be . . ."²⁴

The Mormons viewed themselves as persistently loyal to this document and pledged their continuous support of it. That a sharp distinction was made between "Constitution" and "Union" is evident. John Taylor's 4th of July oration

²²Journal of Discourses, IX (Apr. 6, 1861), 11.

²³Deseret News, July 10, 1861, p. 152. "Journal History," Apr. 14, 1861.

²⁴Journal of Discourses, VIII (Ezra Benson, Apr. 6, 1861), 373-379.

stated: ". . . the Constitution of the United States has ever been respected and honored by us. . . . We have ever stood by it, and we expect when the fanaticism of false blatant friends shall have torn it shred from shred, to stand by the shattered ruins and uphold the broken, desecrated remnants of our country's institutions in all their purity and pristine glory."²⁵ Heber C. Kimball, counselor in the First Presidency, stated that the South would secede from the North, the North would secede from the Mormons, and eventually Mormon leaders as God's appointed would rule.²⁶

The completion of the telegraph line on October 17, 1861, gives an interesting view of the distinction between terms. In the first dispatch sent by Brigham Young to J. H. Wade, President of the Pacific Telegraph, he stated: "UTAH HAS NOT SECEDED, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country, . . ."²⁷ Frank Fuller, acting Governor since May 10th when Governor Cumming left his official duties, sent a telegraph to President Abraham Lincoln:

Utah, whose citizens strenuously resist all imputations of disloyalty, congratulates the President upon the completion of an enterprise which spans a continent, unites two oceans, and connects with nerve of iron the remote extremities of the body politic with the great governmental hand, as the parricide hand is palsied, treason

²⁵Deseret News, July 10, 1861, p. 152.

²⁶Journal of Discourses, IX (Heber C. Kimball, Apr. 6, 1861), 7.

²⁷"Journal History," Oct. 16, 1861.

is punished, and the entire sisterhood of states joins hands in glad reunion around the national fireside.²⁸

Two months later,²⁹ when John W. Dawson took office as territorial governor he questioned Fuller's reassurance to the President that Utah could be described as "loyal." According to Dawson, Fuller weakly explained he was referring

²⁸Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Publishers, 1893), II, 31.

²⁹There is possibly some discrepancy concerning the date Dawson took office. He must have been in the Territory at least as early as October 26, 1861. He wrote a letter on this date to the Secretary of Interior and seemed to be quite well "informed" of the Utah condition at this early date. The views expressed in the letter label him as no friend of the Mormons and thus doomed for trouble. The government was considering moving the Indians onto "reservations" and Dawson provided them with the following observations in considering taking the move in Utah: "It will prove destructive of the end sought to be accomplished, when applied to Utah. Were internal matters in that Territory substantially the same as they were in other territories since become States--and as they are in the other co-existing territories of the U.S. in the West, Northwest, and North, then a change of the old practice might be made without any considerable difficulty more than what ordinarily results in changes and modifications of rules and customs; but it must be remembered that the condition of affairs or rather the status of things in Utah is anomolous--The Indians are substantially under the influence of the Mormons who it is known have no homogenity in common with other citizens of the United States, and whose domestic policy is not in consonance with the federal government, its constitution & laws--: In fact though they are professedly loyal to the Constitution, and obedient to the laws of the United States, they nevertheless, from the nature of their domestic institutions, & from past causes of embittered feelings between them & the Gentiles, . . . are inclined to independency which may approximate rebellion. Should federal authority and arms prove in any considerable degree ineffectual during the existing War, in maintaining our national colors over [?] disputed boundaries . . . Indeed it should not be overlooked, the fact that the Mormons claim the indefeasable title by settlement; and it is quite probable that this question may be more difficult of solution than any now apprehend; now should it fail of being properly considered--the fact that these things may grow worse without outside immigration--; for in a few years by the inevitable laws of

to the "soil" and not the people.³⁰ It was difficult for federal officials to really understand and determine the loyalty of the Mormons because of this dualism between "Constitution" and "Union" and because of their activities to establish God's Kingdom. It was indeed a unique situation. When Governor Cumming wrote to Secretary Seward on April 18, 1861 to confirm his date for leaving Utah Territory he assured

population among the Mormons, and by large accessions from abroad, there will be an empire of that people, in the very heart of this nation, from whom the Constitution, though respecting them & their rights as citizens--may receive nothing but derision & the federal officers resident in that territory, nothing but contumely. It therefore behooves the federal government to be prompt in taking early & efficient, yet wise and liberal measures to there assert its legitimate authority, & cause it be respected."

". . . Immigration will soon begin its irresistible march over the plains to take up its home in the great Vallies of Utah--& soon too that hidden empire will develop into gigantic proportions and resources & her civilization absorb polygamy; & thus by peaceful--humane--natural, & irresistible means will retrieve an evil which our education, our Christianity as generally understood--and the spirit & genius of our Constitution seem to regard as an evil of much magnitude. Violent means are neither humane nor effectual. In view then of the premises laid down--let me say--that appropriations for treaty purposes & for surveying these lands, should be made by the next Congress. "John W. Dawson Letters," 1861-1862, Utah State Historical Society.

³⁰Letter from John W. Dawson to Abraham Lincoln, Oct. 26, 1861, Lincoln Papers, "Miscellaneous Utah Manuscripts," Library of Congress. Dawson wrote this letter from Fort Bridger on January 9, 1862, after his brutal beating as he was leaving the Territory, to the President of the United States. "Sir: I have this day written to the Secretary of the Interior in regard to affairs in this Territory--and have directed him to submit the same to your . . . [?] as well as to the Secretary of War.

"Let me confine [?] you to take heed of affairs here, for everything is perilous and growing daily worse."

"The report sent over the wire by Sec. Fuller of the loyalty of this people was not backed [?] by the facts--and Fuller when asked by officials here why he did so--said that

the Secretary of State, "The territory is at present in a most peaceful condition--and the inhabitants in enjoyment of unusual prosperity."³¹ Brigham Young had informed his counselors and apostles at a prayer circle held March 10, 1861, that "he did not wish Utah mixed up with the secession movement, . . ."³² It must have been quite confusing to

he didn't say the people were loyal but the soil was and, etc.--a very small excuse for so grave a matter. The public has been deceived by him. In high consideration--
Yours, John Dawson."

³¹Letter dated Apr. 18, 1861, Governor Cumming to Secretary of State Seward, State Department Territorial Papers, Utah Series, National Archives. When Cumming left as did several other federal officials, Brigham Young urged Hooper to do all in his power to influence Abraham Lincoln to appoint Utah men to the territorial offices. The request was disregarded for Governor Dawson was sent to replace Cumming.

"It was quite proper and correct to suggest to Mr. Lincoln that our appointments belong to us, by every just construction of the spirit of the Constitution. But, should he be unwilling or unable to make our appointments from names you may present, as advised on the 28th ult., it will doubtless still be the best policy to patiently bide our time, for plausible pretexts against us would tend more aught else to heal the present breach and unite them in a crusade to Utah, like the Irishman and his wife, who both pitched into the man who parted them when fighting. . . . whether (very doubtful) Mr. Lincoln is really waiting for the pressure to so abate as to give some chance for appointing residents of our choice, we are not informed. Appoint as he may, it would appear to be an ill chosen time to again endeavor to foist upon us broken down political hacks and the political hungry and poor from outside our borders." Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Apr. 11, 1861.

"It may be rather late to ask the question, but would not Mr. Lincoln best consult his own interests and the interest of the Government aside from the justice in the case, by appointing for Utah as you have already been advised? If not too late, a hint that Territories as well as States are liable to become restive in these exciting times, may tend to direct his appointment action towards Utah in a Constitutional channel." Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Apr. 25, 1861.

³²"Journal History," Mar. 10, 1861.

federal policy makers to receive these conflicting reports of the Mormons' loyalty.

If secession was not in the Mormon plan, what positive action did they have in mind to be ready for God's appointment? Composition of a constitution and election of a complete roster of officers was an important aspect of their eventual "take over" when God so advised. The effort begun late in 1861, involved more than their perennial petition for Statehood. The routine appeal had been made earlier in 1861. Delegate Hooper had confided to George Q. Cannon, President of the European Mission and evidently prominent in the future plans for the Kingdom: 'Mr. Sherman will recommend the admission of all the Territories this winter, or all those who are willing to take upon themselves the expense and responsibilities of State Government. This is rather a change from last winter. . . . I was fully convinced that the time had arrived to present our Constitution, and I had determined to do so, . . . I shall embrace the first opportunity to offer it.'³³ Holding petitions and memorials from an earlier year he was concerned about the date appearing on the documents. Brigham Young advised him to merely change the dates. He added this opinion:

The Republicans, if wide awake, will I think, be smart enough to understand the policy of laboring for our

³³Millennial Star, XXIII, 29-30. Hooper had presented the Constitution on Dec. 31, 1860 and had received consent to order the printing. "I think the feeling with many is to let her in, but there is no show yet." Hooper Letter Books, II, Jan. 1, 1861.

admission, and act accordingly. Should any member have any dubiety on this point, you can remark to him that these hurrying times, Utah, after patiently waiting so long, may not feel disposed to again trouble Congress with a petition for admission.³⁴

By January 24, 1861, it was evident that not much could be accomplished in the midst of secession and national problems.³⁵ On February 7, Brigham Young confided to Hooper, "We are thankful that Congress has not admitted us into the Union as a State. However, we shall continue to tease them upon that point so long as they even pretend to legislate for the past Union, . . ."³⁶ The implications of this statement are difficult to understand. What did the Mormons intend? Did they want Statehood or not? It is curious that they should be seeking admission into a "Union" that they firmly believed to be rapidly approaching destruction. Does the correspondence indicate that the effort for Statehood was a decoy to cover up their real intentions? Perhaps sufficient material will be discovered to clarify this point.

In a letter of May 11, 1861, Brigham Young congratulated Delegate Hooper for his timely departure from Washington and success in avoiding the troubles there. "I think it would be well for you and your family to make your way home as soon as convenient, without standing much upon ceremony or leave

³⁴Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Jan. 3, 1861.

³⁵Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Jan. 24, 1861.

³⁶Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, Feb. 7, 1861.

taking."³⁷

A more complete plan of establishing a state was put into motion in November of 1861.³⁸ Official proceedings began by submitting an Act providing for elections to vote for or against a constitutional convention. Governor John W. Dawson, who had purportedly taken office as Governor earlier in December and had addressed the Territorial Legislature on December 10th,³⁹ vetoed the act supposedly because the time allowed between the passage of the bill and the elections provided by the bill was insufficient; the bill proposed to fix the States' boundaries, while that power belonged to Congress of the United States, and Congress had not been memorialized to permit such action.⁴⁰

³⁷Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, May 11, 1861.

³⁸The official steps were taken on this date. However, there are indications of planning and meetings prior to this date. Henry Ballard of Logan made the following entry in his personal diary dated September 29, 1861. "Bros. Benson and C. W. West came up from the City to hold mass meetings in every settlement to elect delegates to a convention in S. L. City to get up a State Organization and to send delegates to Congress to be admitted as a State in the Union." And on September 30th he added, "A mass meeting was held and the business attended to with a harty response." Henry Ballard, Jr., "Personal Journal," Utah State Historical Society, p. 29. The Mormon "system" seemed to have involved much behind the scenes decision-making and activity prior to the legally appointed enactment. George A. Smith had dictated a memorial for the admission of the State of Deseret long before the Constitutional Convention convened and prior to the elections as scheduled in the Bill presented to Governor Dawson. "Journal History," Dec. 12, 1861.

³⁹Deseret News, Dec. 18, 1861.

⁴⁰Further reasons are divulged to President Lincoln in a long letter explaining the "great crimes" of the Territory and his reason for rapid departure. "Letter from John W.

For rather hazy reasons, Dawson suddenly left the Territory the first part of January. The Deseret News ran a series of "explanations" for his withdrawal and the Mormons, relieved by his "leaving," continued with plans for the establishment of a State organization.⁴¹

An important aspect of the theocracy of ancient Israel

Dawson to Abraham Lincoln," Jan. 13, 1862, Lincoln Papers, Miscellaneous Utah Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

On December 15th, President Young and the Twelve Apostles met at the Historian's Office for prayer. "George A. Smith presented to President Young an act to provide for calling a convention; the President said, "That is right and let the Convention ask the General Government to admit us as a State, and if they don't do it, tell them we will organize a State Government. If we do not do something to head this military operation, they will afflict us. The whole country will soon be a military despotism. We must look to ourselves; we may soon organize a government for ourselves and take care of ourselves!" "Journal History," Dec. 15, 1861.

On December 22, 1861, "President Young, Wells, and George A. Smith, Lorenzo Snow, Wilford Woodruff met at the Historian's Office, conversing whether the governor will approve the bill for a convention. President Young remarked, "It is better for us to go and organize a state and then go straight on, and the quicker we shall know whether we are on our own ground. I will lead the people on to victory and glory if they elect me Governor. I wish we were a state and in ten days these Gentiles would hustle out. John M. Bernhisel [chosen as delegate to carry the memorial and constitution to Washington] will want every tool and implement in his hands, we will show them that we are loyal to the constitution and we must now be on the trot or we may be a little too late. I say let us go to it (Amen) and still knock at the door for admission as a state. Get out notice for a meeting in the Tabernacle and prepare for a convention and vote it by acclamation." "Journal History," Dec. 22, 1861. It is clear from this that the Mormons had no intentions of honoring the Governor's veto.

⁴¹There are many discrepancies in the material available concerning the Dawson affair. For the Mormon discussions of Dawson's reasons for leaving see Deseret News, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 212; Jan. 15, 1862, p. 229; Jan. 22, 1862, p. 234; Feb. 26, 1862, p. 275; Millennial Star, XXIV (Feb. 29, 1862), 138; "Journal History," Dec. 29, 1861; Dec. 31, 1861; Jan. 16, 1862; Jan. 17, 1862; Jan. 18, 1862. For estimations of the

was the "gathering," which was the process of amassing the Saints in one place in order to establish the Kingdom. Not only was it traditional with Israel, it was also imperative to gain the numerical strength necessary for building up the Kingdom in the latter-days. Gathering was important as a way of unifying the Saints in doctrine and practice. ". . . we intend to get the means to take us to the Valley, away from such scenes,"⁴² became an important motive for the Saints to

details see Poll, "The Mormon Question," p. 261; Whitney, History of Utah, II, 37-38.

John W. Dawson's biography which appears in Representative Men of Indiana portrays a man incapable of being involved in such degenerate activities as the Mormons represented. The contrast is striking. The "Journal History" of the Church related: "Gov. Dawson has threatened to shoot Stenhouse if he published anything about his wishes to sleep with Tom William's wife when she raised the fire shovel on him, and his offer to compromise for \$3000 for her not to tell. She has made affidavit and seen Pres. Young about it. If he (Dawson) gets better, he will leave this week for the States." "Journal History," Dec. 29, 1861. His biographer had described Dawson as being a "remarkable man--His convictions were strong and well-grounded. No one could mistake his opinions. Public good was his sole aim. . . . He was very charitable giving to the needy never with ostentation." His editorial abilities as editor of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Times were complimented. See Representative Men of Indiana (Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Biographical Pub., Co., 1880), Dist. 12, pp. 20-22.

That there was great bias against Dawson by the Mormons and anti-Mormon feelings on Dawson's part seems indisputable. Dawson's letter writing in support of his anti-Mormon sentiments created suspicion of Mormon activities. It seems that the Mormons were not guiltless in intensifying the charges against Dawson. Such mixed-up affairs and exaggerated reporting of details contributed to the general misunderstanding that prevailed. Dawson's plans to delay the processes for establishing a State organization by the Mormons until the Mormon monopoly could be broken were thwarted. His hasty withdrawal was perhaps most welcome if not precipitated by the Mormons.

⁴²Hannah Laprish, "Personal Letter."

emigrate at the outbreak of the Civil War. As early as January 13, 1861, Elder Orson Pratt was making plans to "evacuate all the Saints from New York because of the appalling aspect" of national affairs.⁴³ A circular from the Presidency and Presiding Bishop was distributed to the Bishops of the territory laying plans for assisting the emigrants from Florence to the Valley. Descriptions of conditions in America and the urgency of emigrating became increasingly important as a theme for discourses. Elder George Q. Cannon described the miserable state of the United States, the peaceful condition of the Saints in Deseret, and concluded his preaching by saying: "I would urge you to gather out of these lands [European], for the events now transpiring in the States are only the beginning of war, famine and bloodshed which will overtake this country [Great Britain] and all others."⁴⁴ The following chapter gives substantiation that the Civil War was instrumental in encouraging and accelerating

⁴³"Journal History," Jan. 13, 1861.

In this letter written by Elder William H. Miles he said: "Many strangers are now attending meetings, and some few have been baptized; the people manifest the most intense interest in Mormonism, as the Revelation of the Prophet Joseph is rehearsed in their hearing, and the pride of the nation is being humbled as foretold. God's government upon the earth is beginning to attract attention. So let it be until the Kingdom of God is exalted to reign over the whole earth."

See also "Journal History," Sept. 13, 1861. It contains a narrative, the writer anonymous, concerning the emigration of members from the branches of the Atlantic States, and expresses their great relief in escaping the scenes of the "great Civil War."

⁴⁴Millennial Star, XXIII (May 5, 1861), 387.

the "gathering." By June, 1862 President Brigham Young had confided his intentions to George A. Smith, of the Quorum of the Twelve, to recall all the Elders from the States because of the War.⁴⁵

The Civil War also led to some reactivation of "fossil Mormons," as Ezra Snow termed the inactive membership. He wrote to George A. Smith:

Very many "fossil Mormons" exhibit signs of life and are making tracks west from Pennsylvania, New England and elsewhere; as also not a few in the States who have in the past years been frightened away from Utah are now being frightened back again and many more would if they could.

Probably a couple hundred or more have been baptized in the States since we came down last fall. The greater portion of whom are old hangers on, children of Saints and apostates returning to the fold, a few fresh recruits from Babylon and they, chiefly foreigners, resident in the States. We feel that our Mission in the States has not been in vain, though by far the loudest sermon is being preached by him who long ago said he would come forth from his hiding place to vex the nation.⁴⁶

According to the weekly "News From Home" column appearing in the Millennial Star, even some Gentile families were fleeing to the mountains of Utah desiring a "peaceful retreat." Significantly the article continued: "More were expected to follow their example, thus fulfilling the words of

⁴⁵"Journal History," June 14, 1861.

⁴⁶"Journal History," June 26, 1861. See also "Journal History," Apr. 6, 1861 stating: "The approach of calamities --so strictly verify the truth of prophecy--many of those who once had a standing in the Church, but had fallen away, have been awakened to the sense of their position by the preaching of the Elders."

the Prophet that those who would not take up their sword against their neighbor must needs flee to Zion for safety."⁴⁷

In 1861 the Mormons were laying the groundwork for a great political endeavor that to them seemed inevitably their destiny by the will of God. The actual outbreak of the War in this year verified all they had been planning for as a political entity in setting up the literal Kingdom of God. Amasa Lyman in his letter to George A. Smith sums up the great feeling of destiny the Mormons entertained at this critical time.

We feel this, that the cause for which we labor is increasing, while that for which labor so far as the glory of the world is concerned is waning and its sun must set in the darkness of night, while the Light of Zion will continue to increase, until its extent shall become world wide, and its glory will fill the earth. They have their glory, we will wait for ours, it will surely come.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Millennial Star, XXIII (Oct. 12, 1861), 662.

⁴⁸"Journal History," July 30, 1861.

CHAPTER III
THE YEAR OF CONFIDENCE
(1862)

It would be impossible for me to describe what I saw and heard in Salt Lake, so as to make you realize the enormity of Mormonism; . . . The people publicly rejoice at reverses to our arms, and thank God that the American Government is gone, as they term it, while their prophet and bishops preach treason from the pulpit.¹

Active efforts for the establishment of the Kingdom of God involved setting up the machinery for the ruling of the Kingdom. Filled with high hopes for its immediate consummation,² the Mormons called a constitutional convention on

¹Whitney, History of Utah, II, 630. Letter from Colonel Connor to the Assistant Adjutant General in San Francisco, Sept. 14, 1862.

²The scope and immediacy of the Kingdom is apparent in George Q. Cannon's remarks at the Elder's Convention in England, Jan. 3, 1862:

" . . . I expect to see the day when the young men now rising up will figure in a broader field than their fathers were required to appear in, and have a different relationship with the nations of the earth. God has foretold by the mouth of his Prophets, and declared that this kingdom would continue and increase in the midst of the earth. The Elders of Israel are now ambassadors to the nations from the court of heaven bearing the Gospel of salvation to the children of men; but the time will come when they will be called to act in a different ambassadorial capacity. The nations are not going to be all destroyed at once, as many have imagined; but they are going to stand and continue to some extent with their governments; and the Kingdom of God is not all the time to continue its present theological character alone, but it is to become a political power, known and recognized by the powers of the earth; and you, my brethren, may have to be

the 20th of January, 1862, with the approval of acting-Governor Fuller who served in Dawson's stead. The members elect of the State Convention functioned efficiently, adopting a constitution and memorial for statehood and nominating the officers for the State of Deseret in a snappy three-day convention. Brigham Young was nominated Governor, Heber C. Kimball, Lieutenant Governor, and John M. Bernhisel as Representative to Congress.³ The election was held as appointed on March 3rd. The constitution was unanimously adopted and the slate of officers unanimously elected.⁴ The spirit of the event was reflected in a letter from Erastus Snow to President Young:

Our election on the 3rd was quite spirited and a general spirit of rejoicing prevailed that the time had come when the Lord permitted us again to have the men of our choice to rule over us and to throw off our Territorial yoke. We felt to shout, "Hosanna! In Deseret we're free!"⁵

sent forth to represent that power to its accredited agents. I would just as soon believe it as not. Young men now here to-day may be chosen to go forth and represent God's Kingdom. Millennial Star, XXIV, 103.

³Deseret News issues for Jan. 1862, carried full proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. Deseret News, Jan. 29, 1862, contained the Constitution of Deseret complete, and details of the coming general election. Millennial Star, XXIV, 184-185, contained editorial, "The New State of Deseret."

Senators were not chosen by popular vote, but by the assembly.

⁴The election was apparently conducted "Mormon style," in the various Ward meeting places by show of hands. The unanimous returns indicate that Gentiles had no chance to voice their vote in this election. Deseret News, Mar. 19, 1862, gives complete election returns.

⁵James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," Utah State Historical Society, p. 87.

Governor-elect Brigham Young addressed the newly elected first General Assembly of the State convened at the Council House on April 14th. Constitutionalism, republicanism, and the rights of citizens in Territories to these blessings was the theme of his first address.⁶

To fully set up a state organization and send the Representative and Senators to Congress with their constitution intent for immediate admittance into the Senate and House was not without precedent. California had followed this procedure in 1850.⁷ President Taylor had suggested at that time that California make herself a state if Congress would not do so. Utah was following suit. The Mormons considered themselves eminently more qualified because of their wealth of experience in self-government.

To apply for statehood at this crucial time was built up by the Mormons to be a great show of loyalty. What their true intentions were is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps they were preparing to develop every angle to be in a legitimate position to fulfill their role as well as to obtain release from federal intervention occasioned by the presence of federal officials in territorial capacities. If they were to preserve the Constitution it may have been prerequisite that they be party to the document they were to save. Protection

⁶Deseret News, Apr. 16, 1862, contained the Governor's address complete.

⁷Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, (4th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1957) I, 602. See also Millennial Star, XXIV, 184-185.

against another armed force also figured in this decision.

William H. Hooper and George Q. Cannon were selected as Senators by the General Assembly. George Q. Cannon took leave from his Mission Presidency in Liverpool to join "Senator" Hooper in presenting the constitution and memorials to Congress. May 30, 1862, Brigham Young advised Hooper to "see Col. Thos. L. Kane, converse freely with him, . . . Please whisper in his ear wheather [sic] he thinks it possible for the union to be broken, and ask what he thinks about it."⁸

James R. Clark connected the 1862 appeal for statehood with the principles long espoused and worked toward by the Council of Fifty. On March 9, 1862, Brigham Young identified his position as would-be Governor with the position he held in the Kingdom of God.

The Kingdom of God has sustained me a good while, and I mean to stick to it. . . . When Mr. Fillmore appointed me governor of Utah, I proclaimed openly that my Priesthood should govern and control that office. I am of the same mind today. . . . should I be elected Governor of the State of Deseret, that office shall be sustained and controlled by the power of the eternal

⁸Hooper Letters, Coe Collection, May 30, 1862. This is the only letter in the Hooper collection for 1862. Contrast- ed to the weekly correspondence during his previous term in Washington this seems unusual and probably indicates that certain letters were not made available.

To speak freely with Colonel Kane might well indicate his membership in the secret "Council." He is often referred to as Friend, underlined, capitalized or in quotation marks which might indicate some substantiation for this conjecture based on the discussion in Hansen, The Political Kingdom, Galley, 29.

Priesthood of the Son of God, or I will walk the office under my feet. . . . What ever office I hold from any Government on this earth shall honor the Government of heaven, or I will not hold it.⁹

It was this overlapping of Church and politics that greatly alarmed Federal appointees. It certainly aroused Dawson and motivated him to write critical tirades to President Lincoln concerning the theocracy that was being established mid-continent.

The presentation of the Constitution of Deseret and the memorials ended in the usual stalemate--assignment to the Committee on Territories.¹⁰ Here the petition and memorials died never to be passed on or debated on the floor. To analyze the rejection is a separate thesis but the Kingdom of God figured predominately in the refusal for statehood.¹¹

In a nation believing in the separation of Church and State, it was difficult to understand or sanction the development of a theocratic government.¹² Where competition,

⁹Journal of Discourses, X, 38-42. Clark, "Council of Fifty," p. 146.

¹⁰Deseret News, July 2, 1862, p. 4.

¹¹Ellsworth, "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," pp. 60-61. Objections were explained in letters from Cannon and Hooper, Senators-elect, to President Young. Hooper Letters, "Originals," June 16, 1862, deals with the "disproportionate representation" issue. Hooper Letters, "Originals," June 24, and June 19, 1862, explains the "polygamy" objection. However, as late as July 13th, Hooper and Cannon were still optimistic. See Hooper Letters, "Originals," July 13, 1862.

¹²Whitney, History of Utah, II, 59. Whitney said the union of Church and State, and the priestly influence in the politics of the Territory was the "bug-bear" that deterred statehood.

diversity, and initiative were encouraged, it was difficult to explain a group so tenaciously of one mind. Polygamy existed as evidence of their peculiar nature and was seized upon to excite reaction against the Mormons. Whether the social practice was the threat or the establishment of an empire founded on divine authority is debatable. All of these factors contributed to the denial of statehood.¹³

Brigham Young had warned the Saints of such a reaction by governmental powers. At April Conference of the Church held in Salt Lake City, he warned his listeners that as the Kingdom of God advanced so would the power of Satan rise to hinder its advancement. He encouraged the congregation that God would "purge that power from the earth, and so give the Saints the victory, so that they can bear off his kingdom

¹³Edward W. Tullidge explained the lack of wisdom in sending Dr. Bernhisel to represent Utah because he did not have the political acumen possessed by Hooper. It was during his term that the anti-polygamy bill of 1862 was passed. Tullidge surmised that if Hooper had been elected as delegate the anti-polygamy bill would probably never have been passed. He attributed Bernhisel's nomination to the fact that the Mormons wished to "honor" Dr. Bernhisel and failed to acknowledge that William H. Hooper, along with George Q. Cannon, was reserved for the more important position of Senator from Deseret. Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young, pp. 385-386.

McDougall of California predicted it was a bad time to arouse the Mormons. Cross-continent communications were imperative to the war effort and the nation had just completed a costly, useless war with Utah. He believed the bill would be a "dead-letter" on the law books because of the impossibility of enforcement and because of the nations' involvement in the Civil War. Only the two senators from California voted against the polygamy bill which was Congress' answer to the Mormons plea for statehood. Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 2506-2507.

triumphantly in spite of the powers of Satan and wicked men."¹⁴ They had done all that was possible to become members of the Union. Perhaps there was some other way in which they would assume political leadership of the nation. The elected officers of the State of Deseret continued to function as a "ghost government." They held sessions and were prepared to function as a legitimate government upon notice. This created an unusual duplication of political authority. The Territorial Legislature and appointed officials lacked efficacy because the Government of the State of Deseret held the backing of the people who respected only the authority of the Church.

The function and purposes of the Government of Deseret are evasive. First of all, much of the planning and business was done in secret. And strangely, there is a dirth of material covering the years from 1862-1865. An ardent diary-keeper, John D. Lee, writes nothing from June 14, 1861, to March 23, 1866. His diary resumes in the middle of a sentence of the March 23rd entry.¹⁵ Likewise, Hosea Stout's diary is devoid of entries for this period.¹⁶ Numerous pages of Hooper's Letter Books in the Church Historian's Office

¹⁴Journal of Discourses, X (Brigham Young, Apr. 8, 1862), 32.

¹⁵Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle, II.

¹⁶Juanita Brooks (ed.), The Diary of Hosea Stout (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964).

have been cut out. It is difficult to ascertain why there is such a break in these sources that in the earlier years covered by their writings had been of great value in gaining insight into the Mormon political activities in establishing the Kingdom of God.

In the spring of 1862, Indian depredations interrupted the important flow of mail. Earlier historians, Whitney, Bancroft and Neff among them, have dealt with the Mormon military activity during the Civil War with the predominant interpretation that this was apparently a show of loyalty to offer to protect the route. Margaret Fisher's detailed account of the Richard Burton and Lot Smith expeditions flattered the Mormons in their "brave" exploits in serving their country. Recently, Gustive O. Larson has accurately covered the historical details of their service in the spring of 1862.¹⁷

But was guarding the mail route really a show of loyalty? Brigham Young, as governor-elect, was recognized by the Mormons as Governor, but this recognition was not acknowledged by the Federal Government. Governor Fuller had notified Secretary of War Stanton that the Indian troubles were reaching such proportions that something had to be done. Stanton in turn authorized James Doty, Utah's Superintendent of

¹⁷See Andrew L. Neff, History of Utah: 1847-1869, Leland H. Creer, (ed.), (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 622-623; Whitney, History of Utah, II, 42-43; George Bancroft, History of Utah, 1540-1886, (San Francisco: The History Co., Pub., 1889), XXVI, 605; Margaret M. Fisher, Utah and The Civil War (Salt Lake City: 1929); Gustive O. Larsen, "The Mormons and the Civil War," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965), 55-77.

Indian Affairs to raise a regiment of mounted rangers to quell the Indian raids. These were the legitimate channels to operate through but because of the dual nature of Utah's governing powers, Brigham Young quickly assumed the leadership he in reality held among the people. He telegraphed Hooper instructing him to assure the War Department that the Mormon militia was ready and willing to guard the mail route and they would control the Indians. On April 25th, Fuller acquiesced to Brigham Young's leadership and endorsed the calling up of 90 men from the Mormon militia under command of General Daniel H. Wells. Brigham Young's move into this affair has several very interesting implications. The mail route was imperative to the success in setting up the Kingdom of God. The "signs" of new events were the only basis for knowing when the "water" would be "turned onto the wheel." Correspondence of secret and private nature depended on an uninterrupted route between Great Salt Lake City and Washington D.C. Not only was it necessary for the route to remain open but it was also important that the stations were in sympathetic hands. In Missouri, Illinois, and even in Utah (against Johnston's Army) the Mormons had become dubious about "outsiders." The Gentiles would likely misunderstand their intentions of "saving the Constitution." It was politic for them to control the mail facilities at this critical time.

Based on the 1832 revelation, the Mormons believed that the Indians would eventually take advantage of the weakened condition of the white man in the United States and would

rise up to control their land once more. The Mormon scriptures established a kinship between Mormon and Indian which gave the Saints insight into the way to deal with the Indians. The Mormons would not do anything to antagonize the Indians. Their attitude was one of converting and changing the Indians back to the "delightful" people they had once been.¹⁸ As a result of this regard for the "aborigines," the Mormons were often accused of teaching them to hate "Americans" and of encouraging them to thwart "American" activities. Brigham Young prided himself on being able to deal effectively with these native people and he was confident the Mormon militia could protect the mail most efficiently without having to put up with an armed force of non-Mormons.¹⁹

While the Lot Smith and Richard T. Burton expeditions might have been construed to be displays of Mormon loyalty to the United States Government, it is realistic to see the volunteering of the Militia by Brigham Young as an expedient move to keep channels open for continuing receipt of the "signs" and subsequent directions and to avoid the import of

¹⁸The Mormons considered the Indians to be the remnant of the Book of Mormon people. They had been cursed with a dark skin (II Nephi 5:21). The Lord promised them the curse would eventually be lifted (II Nephi 30:6) and that they would assist in the building up of the New Jerusalem (III Nephi 21:22-24).

¹⁹Journal of Discourses, X, 107. "Feed and clothe them [Indians] a little and you will save life, fight them, and you pave the way for the destruction of the innocent." This summarized Brigham Young's philosophy in connection with dealing with the Indians.

an alien armed regiment to "nose" into the Mormon correspondence and plans.

The position of the Mormons in relation to the Union was becoming more and more nebulous. Abraham Lincoln received inflammatory accusations from Dawson. Evidently Harding, newly appointed Governor to the Utah Territory, was having problems understanding the Mormons' intent. Whether the motive was to guard the mails or to keep an eye on the Mormons, Patrick Edward Connor was ordered in July of 1862, and left from Ruby Valley, Nevada, for Salt Lake City in September.²⁰ It is not difficult to interpret Colonel Connor's intention. He was very outspoken concerning his attitude toward the Mormon activities. Ordered to station at Camp Crittendon, formerly Camp Floyd,²¹ Connor wrote to his superior officer explaining that Governor Harding had "begged" him to locate within the city. He chose a place on the foothills overlooking the city,

. . . where one thousand troops would be more efficient than three thousand on the other side of the Jordan.

²⁰Orton, Records of California Men, p. 506, contains plans to send Connor for the "protection of the overland mail route." Orton, p. 508, gives details of Connor's first trip to Salt Lake City, his determination to settle on the bench above the city, and explains that the federal officers in Utah begged him to do so.

²¹The Mormons were exultant over the difficulties of John B. Floyd, Secretary of War during the Utah War. The Deseret News ran full details of the Floyd-Bailey-Russel hearings and moralized over the fact that those who oppose God's people will certainly suffer. According to the News the whole nation was suffering because of the injustices perpetrated against God's Chosen People.

If the General decides that I shall locate there, I intend to quietly entrench my position, and then say to the Saints of Utah, enough of your treason, but if it is intended that I merely protect the overland mail and permit the Mormons to act and utter treason, then I had as well locate at Crittendon.²²

Connor received authorization to settle on the foothills overlooking Salt Lake thus verifying the fact that the question of Mormon loyalty or at least lack of understanding of their intent was deep-seated enough to warrant approval of Connor's decision. Harding, encouraged with the army's reinforcements, joined in the attack against Mormon "treasonous" activities. Connor may have possessed a perverted anger because he was sent to guard a mail route when he was prepared to lead his forces into battles in the East to preserve the Union, so he drummed up a conflict to satisfy his personal desire.²³ However, the Mormon interpretation of the Kingdom of God, their tirades against the Federal Government, their belief in the War as a means of revenging the wrongs committed against the Saints, and their assurance that they would eventually rule the world could have been convincing to Connor that the Mormons were overly ambitious and needed to be subdued.

Norman F. Furniss observed that the Mormons "after the outbreak of the Civil War had revealed no defect of patriotism that might have justified military occupation of their country

²²Neff, History of Utah, p. 629.

²³Whitney, History of Utah, II, 82-83.

to enforce their allegiance to the Union."²⁴ Did the writer overlook the magnitude of the Mormon plans in setting up the Kingdom and the misunderstanding this created because of the secrecy which veiled the operation? Furniss claims they called down plagues on both North and South, which they assuredly did, but this plainly did not cast them as "neutral" in any usual sense of the word. It is evident that there were some grounds for Connor's fear and justification for his lack of understanding of the Mormon position and their actions. Certainly de jure and de facto governments operating simultaneously with considerable conflict was not an usual occurrence. Neither were the weekly sermons on the "we told you so" theme preaching the revenge doctrine and eventual destruction of the nation an ordinary situation. Connor, Harding and other Gentiles devoted their efforts to assure the Federal Government that they would allow no insurgence in the middle of the continent.²⁵

In fulfilling his "duty," Connor issued an order from Fort Churchill on August 18, 1862, "enjoining loyalty upon the citizens and he intimated that he would arrest any one found guilty of uttering disloyal sentiments."²⁶ When

²⁴Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, pp. 230-231.

²⁵For discussions of Connor's deployment to Utah see Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young, pp. 339-340; Bancroft, History of Utah, pp. 611-612; Neff, History of Utah, p. 630; B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: 1930), V, 17-18.

²⁶"Journal History," Aug. 18, 1862.

settled in Utah on the "bench" he required all who supplied the camp to take an oath of allegiance. This occasioned a Council Meeting of the First Presidency, Twelve Apostles and Bishops. Brigham Young remarked:

I will just say a word or two before we close. Now right in the time of war there could not be a greater insult offered, nor one of a higher character than the Government have already offered to this corporation by locating that army within the limits of the corporation without asking leave. And then after doing this, tell this community that they must take an oath of allegiance before they can be allowed to sell anything to the army; for say they "We rather mistrust that you are not loyal and we shall not allow you to bid at all."

In regard to their location I will say, that after all the insult that has been offered, they are in the best place they can be in for doing the least injury. If they were at Camp Floyd or Fort Bridger they would go unrestrained, but here they cannot do much hurt. I feel that they will dwindle away. . . . I hope the brethren will keep their families from that camp; and let them alone and politely ask for what they want. To take the oath of allegiance to furnish a dozen of eggs! They make manifest their folly in all they do; but as a brother said the other day, "We are praying all the time for the Lord to make fools of them." And that thing that is here that calls himself Governor, I do not know of a thing that could be here that would be any more in accordance with the wishes of this people, than he is. If you were to fill a sack with cow shit, it would be the best thing you could do for an imitation, and that would be just as he. Let them come and say, "Will you sell me a bushel of potatoes?" Then comes the answer "Do you want me to take the oath of allegiance? If you do, go to hell for your potatoes."²⁷

The Civil War by 1862 was developing into a most effective "missionary tool." The Millennial Star published weekly editorials rehearsing the refusal of the nations to observe the "signs" and to accept the evident fulfillment of

²⁷"Journal History," Oct. 30, 1862.

Prophecy.²⁸ For any thinking person to observe the war raging in the once proud and prosperous United States which had commenced in South Carolina exactly as predicted and yet to refuse to believe in the eventual fulfillment of all the details was considered by the Mormons to be very unwise. Such descriptive phrases as "speedily approaching future," "for the day of the Lord will not linger but is nigh even at our very doors," and "surely the time is nigh at hand," created a feeling of imminency that demanded immediate action. The Kingdom of God had been set up in the valley of the mountains and all Saints had the responsibility of gathering there. Indeed, this would soon be the only safe place on the face of the earth as the wars of destruction spread. The Saints had been assured that the "work of an Almighty hand" had built up a kingdom that would stand forever, and the organization and construction of a government and society that should be universal and leave impress upon all future ages had been instituted. Such statements as these gave a great sense of destiny to converts and would-be Saints. They were told of the peaceful, prosperous condition existing in the valley in each "News from Home" column of the Millennial Star. Attention was directed to the contrast between the war scenes taking place in

²⁸See the following editorials in the Millennial Star, XXIV, "Blindness of the World to the Signs of the Times," (June 21, 1862), 393-396; "Importance of Continued Revelation," (July 12, 1862), 441-443; "Consequences of Rejecting the Messages of Truth," (Aug. 9, 1862), 499; "The fulfillment of Prophecy," (Aug. 23, 1862), 529-533; "Uneasiness of the Nations of the Earth--Its causes," (Sept. 1862), 609-611; "Remarkable Phenomena Which Are Not Observed by the Wise Ones of This Generation," (Sept. 6, 1862), 569-571.

the States and the peace enjoyed by the Saints in Deseret. It is significant that in 1862, with the United States in the midst of war, the Mormons experienced an influx in emigration. The following charts give an indication of this condition. In addition to economic and spiritual reasons, we could add that the Civil War may have played a part in convincing the Saints of the necessity for their hasty withdrawal from "wicked Babylon."²⁹ While the United States were "drinking of the bitter cup," the Saints were increasing in "numbers, in faith, in hope, in wealth and in power."³⁰

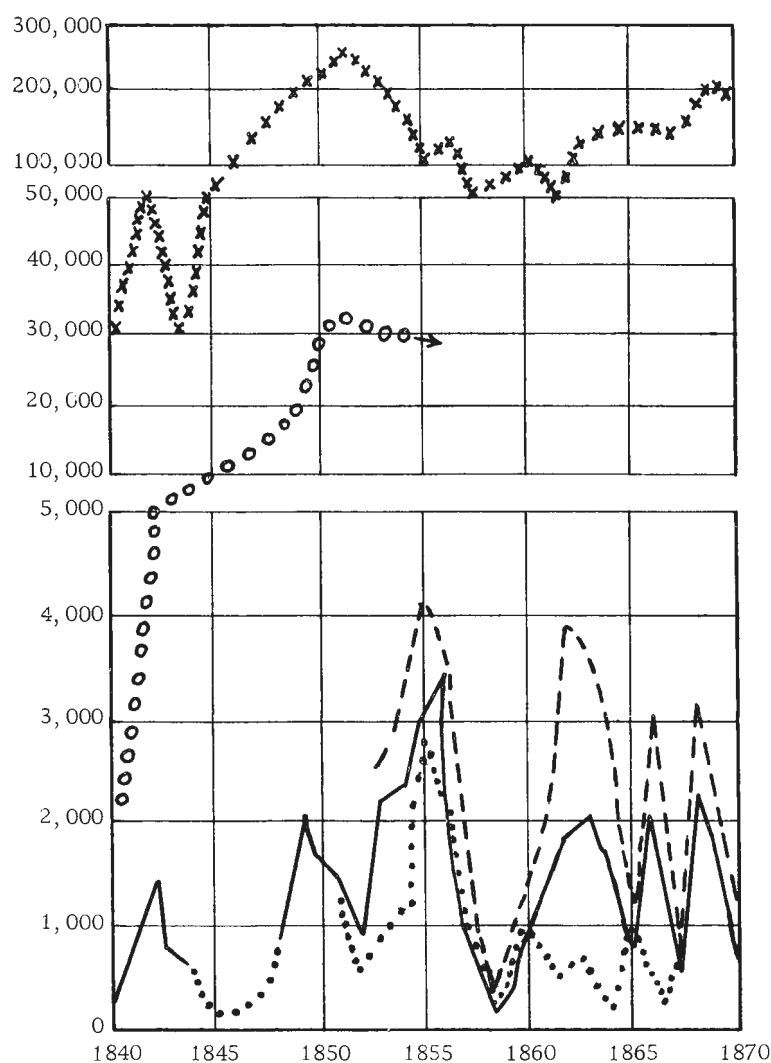
With especial interest the Mormons watched the battles in Missouri. Twenty-three years previous to the Civil War, the Mormons had been expelled by mobs from Jackson County, Missouri. This had been a disastrous occurrence for it was prophecied that Jackson County would be the center stake of

²⁹Taylor, "Why British Mormons Emigrate," p. 251. In concluding his remarks, Taylor stated that economic reasons were definitely not the sole answer to the problem of emigration as he had originally supposed. The "gathering" had implications he could not entirely solve.

Motives for emigrating was a dominant theme for editorializing in the Millennial Star. The editors pleaded with the European converts to have obedience to God's commands as the pure incentive for emigrating to the Valley. It was indicated that fear of the fate of the nations was not so pure a motive. Every issue of the Millennial Star contained advice to emigrants, reasons for emigrating, notices of ships departing, etc. The subject was given increased coverage during the Civil War years. For articles on emigration see Millennial Star, XXIV, (1862), 250-251, 312-313, 417, 457, 508, 510, 513, 569, 649, 652-653, 714, 716.

³⁰Journal of Discourses, X (Brigham Young, Sept. 28, 1862), 4.

CHART I
MORMON AND OTHER EMIGRATION, 1840-1870



_____ British Mormon Emigration
 - - - - - British and Continental Mormon Emigration
 Mormon Unassisted Emigration
 ooooooo Mormon Membership in Great Britain
 xxxxxxx All United Kingdom passengers to United States

Source: Philip A. M. Taylor, "Why Did British Mormons Emigrate?" *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII, No. 3 (July, 1954), 261. The graph is based on totals printed in the *Millennial Star* or on computations from figures printed in that journal.

CHART II

MORMON BAPTISM AND EMIGRATION
IN THE SCANDINAVIAN MISSION, 1851-1871

Year	Number Baptized	Number Emigrated
1851	479	-
1852	723	220
1853	1657	423
1854	1291	337
1855	897	311
1856	1059	113
1857	1621	603
1858	1038	70
1859	929	263
1860	1107	240
1861	1954	455
1862	1977	1177
1863	1587	1061
1864	1213	601
1865	1010	454
1866	1269	831
1867	881	248
1868	1017	622
1869	872	463
1870	853	275
1871	1021	467

Source: Albert L. Zobell, Jr., Under the Midnight Sun (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1950), p. 183. Never again, at least until 1949 which was the last date reported by Zobell, did figures reach the 1862 peak.

Zion, the place where the great Temple should be reared and the location of the New Jerusalem. It was difficult for them to understand why the Lord had allowed them to be persecuted and driven away from their rightful inheritance. As Missouri became the Civil War battlefield the matter was clarified for the Saints. Joseph Smith had explained the Lord's intentions:

. . . that they, the persecutors of His Saints, might fill up the measure of their iniquities, that their cup might be full, and that those who call themselves after my name might be chastened for a little season with sore and grievous chastisement . . . But, he said, that he would in His own time pour out his wrath without measure on his enemies, who had driven and smitten his people, and his people should return and build up the waste places of Zion and should be established never to be thrown down.³¹

Certainly the people of Jackson County, Missouri, disbelieved that the Mormons would ever reposses their lands. However ridiculous this prophecy might have seemed, the battles in Missouri were evidence to the Saints that the Lord had means of accomplishing his designs. Indeed the Mormons saw the destruction taking place in Missouri as the great preparation for their takeover.³² The land would be depopulated and swept

³¹Millennial Star, XXIV (Aug. 23, 1862), 530-532.

³²At the beginning of the Civil War, part of the military strategy was the War in the West where the Union attempted to capture and hold Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee. Part of Lincoln's plan was to split the South, by mastery of the Mississippi River--thus detaching the Southwest from the Confederacy. Some of the most bitter fighting of the war occurred during this phase of the battle. Missouri, early in the war was in the headlines. As the Union pushed south, the battle of Shiloh saw the death of Johnston, on April 6, 1862. Johnston had been given a generalship by Jefferson Davis and

clean and if the Federal Government had any sense of justice they would return the deed to the land to its rightful owners, the Mormons. If the land was not thus restored to them, at least they should be given first chance to repurchase it.³³

"Senator" Hooper contributed to the optimism of the Latter-day Saints in respect to their return to Missouri. In reporting a conversation with Senator Ashley of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, Cannon and Hooper told President Young that Ashley felt that the Mormons had been cruelly treated in Missouri. Ashley said that "there were large quantities of land in the vicinity of Independence which were only held now by the tax title. The Mormons were the original and legitimate owners of the soil; but they had been ejected from it. The present owners in most instances, he said, were d---d traitors, and their land, etc. would have to be taken from them by the Government under the provisions of the Confiscation Bill." At this point Hooper and Cannon

made Confederate Commander in the West. With the Mormon views and interests in the Missouri area, and the death of a General who had been commander of the Utah expedition, it seemed natural that they would interpret these events as acts of God, which served to increase their excitement. Deseret News, June 18, 1862, p. 402.

³³ Journal of Discourses, VIII, 360. See also Millennial Star, XXIV (Aug. 23, 1862), 529-533.

Orson Hyde wrote a letter to the Editor of the Missouri Republican restating the prophecy of God's revenge for the injustices suffered by the Mormons in Missouri, describing the Mormon expulsion, and explaining how the prophecy was at that moment being fulfilled. The letter was reprinted in the Millennial Star, XXIV, 273-275.

asked him, "if it fell into the hands of the Government, whether we might not get possession of it again, it being clearly ours? To this he laughed an assent."³⁴

The influence of this report of favorable circumstances is reflected in the following conversation with Father Morley and Wilford Woodruff at the construction site of the Salt Lake Temple in which Brigham Young prophesied:

If we do not hurry with this, I am afraid we shall not get it up until we have to go back to Jackson County, which I expect will be in seven years. I do not want to quite finish this Temple, for there will not be any Temple finished until the one is finished in Jackson County, Missouri, pointed out by Joseph Smith. Keep this as a secret to yourselves, lest some may be discouraged. Some things we should keep to ourselves.³⁵

The Civil War further influenced Mormon activities in that it convinced them that cotton would be scarce. To alleviate this eventuality the Mormons planned to develop the Southern part of their Territory.³⁶ In a letter from Amasa M. Lyman to his cousin George A. Smith, a clever allusion is made to Deseret's "South that has not seceded."³⁷ President Young had been on a trip to Southern Utah to encourage the Saints to develop the resources there.³⁸ On October 23, 1861,

³⁴Hooper Letter Books, III, July 4, 1862.

³⁵"Journal History," Aug. 22, 1861.

³⁶James G. Bleak, "Annals of The Southern Utah Mission," Utah State Historical Society, pp. 53-54.

³⁷"Journal History," Aug. 11, 1861.

³⁸Journal History," May 27, 1861, gave details of President Young's trip to Southern Utah.

the Deseret News had run the following Editorial:

GONE SOUTH--BUT NOT SECEDING

The development of the resources of Washington County and the entire Southern part of the Territory has long been considered of great importance to the people residing in these valleys; but the settlements formed there for that purpose have not flourished to the extent desired, from various causes not necessary now to state. In view of the great demand there will be for cotton and other products of a warmer clime . . . , in the event that the Civil War in the East should continue for a number of years, it has been deemed expedient by the First Presidency to materially strengthen the settlements, . . . that the objects desired may be more speedily attained than by the course hitherto pursued.³⁹

Plans were made to send 300 additional families to the Southern Counties as an answer to the approaching "Cotton Famine."

By 1862, the project was making some advances. James G. Bleak recorded in his "Annals" that "about 100,000 pounds of cotton have been raised. This is very encouraging and shows the wisdom of the experiment."⁴⁰ The 300 families had become established and it was anticipated that all the cotton required could be grown in that mission.⁴¹ Angus Cannon, a

³⁹Millennial Star, XXIII, 791-792. "Journal History," Oct. 13, 1861, gave official request for calling of families to Southern Utah. "Journal History," Oct. 16, 1861, recorded members reaction to the call. "Journal History," Oct. 17, 1861, gave George A. Smith's extemporaneous account of the history of Southern Utah. "Journal History," Dec. 5, 1861, contained extensive discussions of the Southern Mission.

⁴⁰Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," p. 111.

⁴¹Despite the encouraging accounts recorded in Mormon publications, 1862 had been a hard year. According to John D. Lee, the winter rains and floods were destructive to life and property and a severe financial setback for the residents of Southern Utah. To produce cotton was a difficult task.

resident of Utah's Dixie, suggested sending 300 more families and at the October Conference of the Church in 1862, 200 additional families were called. Attempts were being made to establish a cotton mill. Articles on cotton culture and growing appeared in the agriculture section of the Deseret News in 1862. The Civil War had thus succeeded in accelerating the build-up of the cotton industry and the settlement of southern counties by the Mormons.

On December 18, 1862, Governor Harding, in his annual address to the Legislature, scolded the people of Utah for their lack of fervor for their country.

I am sorry to say that since my sojourn amongst you I have heard no sentiments, either publicly or privately expressed, that would lead me to believe that much sympathy is felt by any considerable number of your people in favor of the Government of the United States, now struggling for its very existence "in the valley and shadow" through which it has been called to pass. . . .

I regret also to say, I have found in conversing with many gentlemen of social and political influence, that because the question of admission of this Territory into the Union was temporarily postponed, distrust is

Cleland and Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle, II, 7.

Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 216-217.

If Southern Utah could not have produced enough cotton, Brigham Young had an alternate plan: "I have received a letter from Dr. Bernhisel concerning the Perennial Cotton Tree which they are introducing into the Northern States. We expect to receive some of these seeds and we shall soon be raising cotton all over the Territory. This tree will grow in cold latitudes and produce a great amount of good cotton. Cotton has been raised in Tooele the past season, and Jacob Workman has raised on his lot, in this city, as good cotton as can be raised anywhere." "Journal History," Jan. 30, 1862.

entertained in regard to the friendly disposition of the Federal Government, . . .⁴²

He then offered two suggestions for action which he felt were necessary for the Mormons to take if they were ever to receive statehood. The first, was an accurate census. He indirectly accused the Mormons of fabricating the population count. Secondly, he pointedly advised them to drop the practice of polygamy. He might as well have set off a bomb in the middle of the Assembly room. His message aroused furor to say the least. The Legislature refused to print such incendiary statements.

Harding was accused of completely reversing his earlier friendliness toward the Mormons as interpreted in his initial address on July 24, 1862,⁴³ and actions were planned by the Mormons to rid themselves of another obnoxious federal

⁴²Whitney, History of Utah, II, 83-87, contained complete text of Governor Harding's annual message.

At the time statehood had been denied or at least neglected, Hooper and Cannon had written to Brigham Young informing that some Senators felt that they could not vote for Utah Statehood unless there was an amendment in the State Constitution doing away with polygamy. "Hooper Letters," Originals, June 24, 1862.

⁴³The earlier speech is reproduced complete in Whitney, History of Utah, II, 70-73. The speech is a descriptive, flowery oration designed to "win friends and influence people." It is staccatoed with applause and "hear, hear!" How well informed Harding was on the Mormon situation at that time is difficult to say. Perhaps Fuller, who had learned from past experience, had advised him to go along with the Mormons if he intended to stay long. Also, the presence of Connor's forces may have given him courage to make the statements as contained in the later address.

officer.⁴⁴ When word reached the United States Congress that Governor Harding's speech had never been publicly presented, the Senate ordered 1000 copies to be made and sent to the Utah Governor to be distributed by him.⁴⁵ All of this certainly did not help the Mormons in putting over the view they had of themselves, as the divinely-appointed saviors of a distressed nation.

⁴⁴Poll, "The Mormon Question" pp. 266-269. As justification of Mormon actions, Poll summarizes the reaction of Eastern papers (the Herald and Times) as laying most of the blame upon "the political ambitions of Harding and the pugnacity of Connor."

See also "Journal History," Dec. 10, 1862; Dec. 11 and Dec. 15, 1862.

⁴⁵U. S. Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, Jan. 16, 1863; Feb. 13, 1863. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, V, 19-20.

CHAPTER IV
OPPOSING FORCES
(1863)

We have had a little taste of the old time, even the thought crept into the heads of the brainless officials, that quietly surprised and accidentally killed, Brigham Young, might create a vacancy among the Prophets, and a division among the ranks, that would enable his hypocritical holiness, the Executive, [referring to Governor Harding] officially, to assume that high dignity. The raising of a flag four hours before the grab game was to be consummated, settled the question for the moment, which has so many times been settled; those who wait for dead man's shoes, are likely to go barefoot for a long time: The old hypocrite [Colonel Connor] ran into the street and cried out, "What does it all mean, what are you all running with your guns for, I knew nothing about it, I knew nothing about it." The boys have kept awake ever since, the Historian's Office, the President's Office, the 18th and 20th Ward Seminaries, Well's barn and the Tithing Office yard have all been temporary barracks, where the citizens have lodged to witness any attempt of a military arrest. The attacks of Indians on the Mail Route broke the spell. Mr. Cook, the Superintendent, called on the Mormon boys to go and protect the mail route as Connor was too damned busy watching Brigham Young to attend to his duty. The sprig of Green Isle began to scatter his men about, and take measures to restore confidence among the community, postponing for a time the destruction of the Mormons, as well as the redemption of auld Ireland; as his wife is reported to have said that the two darling desires of his heart, is "to put down Mormonism and redeem auld Ireland." Oh Mars! Such ambition should be made of stern stuff.¹

The misunderstanding existing between the Federal officers and the Mormons as described in the quotation introducing this chapter was untimely. The Union could not deploy

¹"Journal History," Mar. 20, 1863. Letter from Elder George A. Smith to Hosea Stout.

forces to quell treason if it did exist. Neither did the Mormons desire disruption of their plans to establish the Kingdom. James G. Randall described the plight of the Union and Confederate governments:

The spring of 1863 came; and as the people looked back upon two years of bungling and sanguinary warfare neither of the struggling sections could point to gains comparable to the losses incurred. The conflict had reached proportions never dreamed of in 1861; fate had supplied a ghastly sequel to the confident predictions and generalizations in which the politicians of that far-off year had indulged. Adjustments that seemed easy in 1861 were out of the question now; neither side could see its way clear to a termination of the struggle.²

The receipt of war news convinced the Mormons that events were progressing exactly as the Lord had predicted. The interminable gadfly activities of Harding and Connor were indeed irritating to the Mormons in their attempt to rescue a nation in the throes of Civil War. Connor's request for arms to subdue the "treasonous Mormons" at this critical time seems to indicate a narrowness and lack of sensitivity to the national scene. The Mormons had no desire to be involved in a war. It is clear that any arming or military readiness employed by them was merely to switch the gadfly, for the Mormon doctrines and teachings maintained that the United States, humbled and chastened by war and misery, would turn to the example of leadership and organization of the Kingdom of God. This was not generally understood by the Gentiles.

²J. G. Randall and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction (2nd ed. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1961), p. 226.

By 1863, the Mormon speeches began to temper. Private letters did not greatly change but the tone of the public communication was milder. The Deseret News, with the change of editors, became more "conservative."³ Brigham Young's addresses dealt more with loyalty and peace than heretofore. To understand what was actually transpiring among the Mormons during the War years is difficult. One senses a guarded aura spread over all records pertaining to this date. This was probably necessary for self-preservation. It is also evident that much has been extracted or deleted from the written records after the excitement of the times had subsided. These factors make historical estimations of these years subject to inaccuracy and also, create a curiosity that causes imagination to run rampant. To separate imagination from fact becomes increasingly more difficult as the secrecy and censoring becomes more complete. One gains a definite understanding of events as they are read strictly chronologically and in their context and cannot help but wonder what happened "in the end." The excitement and plans of action at the commencement of the war is dealt with voluminously. But by 1863 and 1864 material grows scarcer and scarcer. Whether the details of Mormon activity in relation to their concept of the important Civil War role assigned to them by God will ever be known is questionable unless material is uncovered and made available.

³"Journal History," Oct. 10, 1863.

Domestic affairs in Utah in 1863 were equally tense. The Mormons were excited because of the uncomplimentary speech of Harding. It is more difficult to sympathize with the Mormons' excitement as the address is read years later. In fact, it seems objective, knowledgeable and contains sound advice. At the time it was delivered, it attacked the main tenets of the Mormon system and requested a modification in their basic beliefs. To them the speech was directly opposite to the cooperative spirit Harding had displayed in his Fourth of July speech. The sentiment for Harding, Drake and Waite as the best federal officials ever sent by the government (as stated by Brigham Young the previous spring) vanished.⁴

Besides the evident disregard for the law of 1862 in the continued practice of polygamy, there were other "violations" of the ordinary ways of operating a Territory that created consternation by Federal appointees. The continuing function of a complete State organization despite denial of statehood a year earlier effected considerable misunderstanding. On January 19th, Thomas Bullock had read Brigham Young's address to the State Legislature. In this public address, Young reviewed the appeal for statehood, the lack of action by Congress, the introduction of an enabling act into Congress which would abandon population requirements for statehood,

⁴ Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 609.

and the peaceful, prosperous condition of Deseret.⁵ This annual address was published in the Millennial Star and Deseret News. Another message, contained in Brigham Young's History and recorded in the "Journal History" on the same date as the public message, had quite different implications. In it the great ambition and devotion to God's cause were evident. From this message we get some inkling of Mormon intentions toward the solution of the Civil War during 1863 and also some indication of why the "outsiders" were puzzled about the Mormon position. Governor Young addressed the Assembly of the State of Deseret saying:

I wish to say a few words. Many may not be able to tell why we are in this capacity. I do not think that you see this thing as it is. Our organization will be kept up. We may not do much at present in this capacity, yet what we have done or shall do will have its effect. Our Constitution which we sent to Washington has been closely scanned by the Members of Congress. All of our moves here are feared by the Nations of the earth, especially by the United States. This body of men will give laws to the Nations of the earth. We meet here in our second Annual Legislature, and I do not care whether you pass any laws this Session or not, but I do not wish you to lose one inch of ground you have gained in your organization, but hold fast to it, for this is the Kingdom of God, and we are the friends of God and you will find that much will grow out of this organization. But I will say without the inspirations and revelations of God, our acts are of no use. We are called the State Legislature, but when the time comes, we shall be called the Kingdom of God. Our government is going to pieces, and it will be like water that is spilt upon the ground that cannot be gathered. If we do not take care of ourselves, no one will take care of us. We are the best of any people on the earth, and there is no people as well off as this people on the earth, for the light and the knowledge of God. In 1857, we said to

⁵Millennial Star, XXV, 156-157; Dale Morgan, Utah Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1940, 138-139; Hansen, "Political Kingdom of God," BYU Studies, pp. 255-257.

7000 troops, "stop," and they stopped. Had there been but 500 like those troops here, we should have let them in, for they would not have done any harm. It is our business to take care of ourselves; if we see the enemy coming, it is our duty to prepare for it. I can do better to never trade again in my life with a wicked man. I will name one thing. I built a Theatre here myself. Some wanted the Army to come here; I did not; and since the Army got up a Theatre for themselves, we have been crowded to the full. I will be richer in the end if the wicked do not come nigh. I do not care whether you sit one day or not. But I do not want you to lose any part of this Government which you have organized. For the time will come when we will give laws to the nations of the earth. Joseph Smith organized this government before, in Nauvoo, and he said if we did our duty, we should prevail over all our enemies. We should get all things ready, and when the time comes, we should let the water on to the wheel and start the machine in motion.⁶

It is probable that federal officials never heard these words for they were not publicly printed. It is evident that the officers did sense the complexity of the situation in Utah. George A. Smith's letter to John L. Smith described a most exasperating condition for Governor Harding:

. . . the Legislature spent its 40 days literally trying to do nothing, which, however, they were unable to accomplish. The most positive coldness existed between

⁶"Journal History," Jan. 19, 1863.

There is evidently some mistake, at least a discrepancy, in the date of this address. The "Journal History" on Jan. 19, 1863, says, "Governor Brigham Young's message was read by Thomas Bullock." This obviously refers to the public address contained in the Deseret News and the Millennial Star. However, the message that followed this introduction is the one Brigham Young himself addressed to the Assembly copied from the "History of Brigham Young" in the Church Historian's Office. Dale O. Morgan, Utah Historical Quarterly, VIII, 139-140, dated this private address Dec. 22, 1862. However, other writers treat them as if both were delivered at the same time as the "Journal History" entry seems to verify. Perhaps when they were delivered is not the point to be stressed as much as the evident dualism existing within the Mormon political function which was the source of Mormon-Gentile conflict and distrust.

the Assembly and the Governor throughout, and not the least explanation was ever given him by any member concerning the Bills that passed, as no one seemed to care whether he vetoed them or not. The Legislature adjourned without any consultation with the Governor, who pronounced the most solemn imprecations upon us for not publishing his Message, which he said would fall like snowflakes all over the world.⁷

John Taylor summarized the existence of "conflicting elements" in a discourse of February 22nd:

We have believed that there have been conflicting spirits and powers, and we have believed that God has designed ultimately to root out and remove from the earth everything that is contrary to his will, designs and purposes in relation to the earth. As a people we believe that God has commenced in these last days to build up his kingdom and root out the ungodly from the earth and establish correct principles. We believe there is an antagonism in the world to God and to his laws and to the principles of truth, not only with the bodies of men but with the spirits of men who have left the earth and the spirits who are in opposition to God. There are various influences at work to oppose God and his laws and the establishment of his kingdom upon the earth. We believe, more over, that he will ultimately accomplish his own purposes, establish his own government, root out the wicked, take the reigns of government into his own hands and possess the kingdom himself.⁸

If Connor, Harding, and Justices Drake and Waite existed as "an antagonism" to God and the establishment of the Kingdom, Brigham Young turned to God for a remedy. With the Twelve Apostles he "prayed for Governor Harding and Judges Waite and Drake and the army who were sent here to make war upon us, and the government who sent them here. He prayed for all the enemies of the Kingdom of God."⁹ John Taylor reviewed the

⁷"Journal History," Jan. 26, 1863.

⁸Journal of Discourses, X, 118.

⁹"Journal History," Mar. 1, 1863.

Mormon position in an effective discourse dated March 1, 1863:

. . . Why is it that this people, say in this Territory, embracing a scope of country of some five hundred miles in extent, with a population that, comparatively speaking, may be called dense for a country like this, has assumed the proportions of a body politic if you please, that have organized themselves into a Territory and have asked for admission as a State into the great American Confederation? Why is it that a thing so singular as this has taken place? Is it because there has been a desire among the originators of this Work, or any part of them to establish a political power? I am not aware that this is the case. If there has been any such feeling and desire apart from other leading principles it is something I am not acquainted with. We have commenced to gather ourselves together under certain influences, certain principles and under a certain faith. We have gathered ourselves together from various parts, and although there has been a strong influence used to separate us, to scatter us abroad, to produce disunion, to sever us from one another; yet no influence, no power, no reasoning, nor anything whatever that has been brought to bear on this people to accomplish that object has succeeded; there is some cause, some reason for this. There are mighty motives underlying, overruling, and overreaching all motives of a political character. The first thing that ever was proclaimed by the Elders of this Church was the Gospel of peace on the earth, and good-will towards men continued to be preached, and among other influences there has been a certain influence that has gathered the people together. There has been no influence that could be brought to bear upon this people that could sever or separate them.¹⁰

Such a speech was delivered for the benefit of Gentile listeners. Events that followed indicate that these well-chosen words fell on deaf ears. Judge Waite thoroughly perturbed with Mormon infringement with the court jurisdiction had drawn up a bill amending the organic act, providing that juries be selected by the U. S. Marshal, authorizing the governor to appoint militia officers, and restricting the

¹⁰ Journal of Discourses, X, 123-124.

powers of the probate courts to their proper functions. It had been approved by Judge Drake and Governor Harding and was referred to a Congressional Committee upon its receipt in Washington.¹¹

Coupled with Harding's annual address and Connor's anti-Mormon behavior, this served as "The straw that broke the camel's back." A mass meeting was called on March 3rd, in order to discuss the extent of interference by federal appointees and to resolve some remedy that would allow the Mormons to accomplish their purposes. On March 3rd, the Deseret News ran these headlines:

MASS MEETING IN THE TABERNACLE.
PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNOR HARDING HOSTILE TO THE
INTERESTS OF THE TERRITORY AND TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.
HIS INSULTING MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE READ TO THE
MEETING. PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES FOR THE REMOVAL OF GOV. HARDING AND
JUDGES WAITE AND DRAKE. ¹²

At this meeting, John Taylor, President of the Council of the State of Deseret, delivered the rebuttal to Harding's address restating proofs of the Mormons' loyalty, severely criticizing Harding and the Judges for their unrepugnant treatment of their constituents, and encouraging the removal of such officers.¹³ John Taylor, Orson Pratt, Sr., and Peter Clinton

¹¹Bancroft, History of Utah, 610. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, V, 20-21.

¹²Deseret News, Mar. 3, 1863. Millennial Star, XV, 257-263.

¹³Whitney, History of Utah, II, 90-92.
As a proof of the Mormon loyalty Taylor mentioned that the Legislature during the 1861-1862 session assumed the territorial quota of taxation which amounted to \$26,981 to be

served as the committee to request the resignation from the three federal officials. During the fracas "the few troops on the bench [kept] very quiet and to themselves."¹⁴ Within a week, however, they were sufficiently riled up to create excitement reminiscent of 1857.

Drake and Waite meanwhile had written to President Lincoln describing the mass meeting and attempting to justify their own actions. ". . . the said meeting, . . . and speech of Brigham Young, taken in connection with the previous condition of the Territory, has brought on a crisis in the affairs of the Territory, which, whether the Government is prepared to meet it at the present time or not, will operate to suspend . . . all attempts to enforce the laws through the legally appointed civil tribunals of the Country." They further described the Mormons as being "under the control of

collected annually, payable only in gold or silver coin. Because of the scarcity of coin this was an unusual hardship. In addition to this, the tax was a direct tax laid on real property. Because the Indian title on Utah's lands had never been extinguished and had remained with the federal government, the tax was actually levied against a kind of property nonexistent in the territory. Even though it was "taxation without representation" it was paid and thereafter used as an indication that the Mormons supported the nation during the Civil War. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, V, 9-11.

John Taylor was also indignant that Harding accused them of being disloyal, for at the "very time His Excellency was uttering this infamy, a resolution passed by the House lay on the table, requesting the secretary to place a United States flag on the State House during the session." Could the fact that there never had been a U. S. flag prior to this date be more significant than the passage of the resolution to now have one?

¹⁴Millennial Star, XXV, (Letter from Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, Mar. 5, 1863), 253.

an ecclesiastical monarchy," led by Brigham Young who is stated to have been blocking justice in the Judges' courts.¹⁵ Brigham Young's discourse to the congregation on Sunday, March 8th, in rebuttal to this clamor was subdued and conciliatory.

There has never been a time or circumstance since this Territory was organized but what civil law has reigned triumphantly in the hearts and acts of this people. The outside pressure now is that this people, called the Latter-day Saints, are secessionists in their feelings and alien to the Constitution and institutions of our country. This is entirely false. There is not another people upon the face of the earth that could have borne what we have, and still remain as loyal to our brethren as we have been and are. They might be displeased with some of the acts of the administrators of the law, but not with the Constitutional laws and institutions of the Government.

This people are filled with patience and long suffering, clinging to the institutions bequeathed to us by our fathers as closely and tenaciously as ever babe clung to the Maternal breast, and we would that the Government had always been so wisely administered as to bind the feelings of the people together and to create and still continue to create a union instead of alienation. The affections of the masses of American citizens,--both of the people in the North and in the South are alienated from each other, and they are divided. We would it could be otherwise, but this is the result of the acts of leading politicians of our nation. . . .

What can we do? We can serve God, and mind our own business; keep our powder dry, and be prepared for every emergency to which we may be exposed, . . .

Has Drake met with any difficulty in administering the civil law here? He has not, except in the case where tyrants have sought to interrupt the even course and administration of it. Those who aim to soar to power and fame by taking such a course, pluck out the pinions of their wings, and rob themselves of the glory and power they constantly seek.

- - - - -

Now as we are accused of secession, my counsel to this congregation is to secede, What from? From the

¹⁵Thomas J. Drake, "Correspondence," Letter dated Mar. 6, 1863, Utah State Historical Society.

Constitution of the United States? No. From the institutions of our country? No. Well then, what from? From sin and the practice thereof. That is my counsel to the congregation and the whole world.¹⁶

The following morning a "reliable source" overheard Colonel Connor saying to Justice Waite, "These three men must be surprised." The Judge allegedly replied, "Colonel, you know your duty." David Calder described the events to George Q. Cannon:

In half an hour after, from a signal given, which was previously understood, about 1,000 citizens were armed and on duty, and in another half hour another 1,000 men were on duty. This sudden demonstration proved to them that their secret was known and that we were fully prepared for them. In the meantime our "outside" friends in this City telegraphed to those interested in the mail and telegraph lines that they must work for the removal of the troops, Governor Harding, and Justices Waite and Drake, else there would be difficulty and the mail and telegraph would be destroyed. Their monied interest has given them great energy in our behalf. They have placed their line at the disposal of President Young, to be used to Washington or New York. We fully expect the Colonel, Governor and Judges will be recalled. The Colonel stoutly denies having had any intention of disturbing us. We have good evidence, subsequent to his conversation with the Judge, that he did intend trying to surprise Presidents Young, Kimball and Wells. We do not intend to be caught napping, and they will very soon find that out, if they do not already think us wide awake.¹⁷

Evidently the Mormons had important "outside" connections within Salt Lake City that had prestige to perform the effective strategy described above. The dependence of the Mormons on open lines of communication with the East hardly reflected

¹⁶Journal of Discourses, X, 108-109, 111.

¹⁷Millennial Star, XXV (Letter from David O. Calder to George Q. Cannon, Mar. 13, 1863), 301. See also the quotation introducing this chapter, p. 74.

the "mind our own business" theme of Brigham Young's Sunday Sermon. The perpetuation of the organization of the State of Deseret and actions as just described were indicative of the active belief by the Mormons that events would shortly transpire in fulfillment of prophecy. If the diversions employed by the Federal appointees could be taken care of, they would be prepared to assume the saving role for the Constitution and a shattered nation.¹⁸

¹⁸For further details concerning events of March 9th and 10th and reaction to them see:

"Journal History," Mar. 9, 1863, described the unfurling of the flag atop the Bee Hive House and the immediate appearance of armed volunteers. On the same day Brigham Young was taken before Justice Kinney for violation of the Polygamy Act. Why Brigham Young condescended to this action is uncertain. He surely must have had motives for surrendering to the law at this moment, perhaps as a show of his cooperative intentions. Kinney was a friend of the Mormons.

"Journal History," Mar. 19, 1863, is a recount of a conversation between Brother John Sharp, who supplied the army with hay, and Colonel Connor. The Colonel denied having made the statement which had caused the armed display. The army needed more hay but Sharp refused to deliver more until the \$12,000 due was paid. George Smith wrote to John Smith on the same day saying, "Today Connor publicly disclaims, that he does not intend to disturb any person, but begs for hay." He added, "President Young is in fine spirits, although he is accused of having feloniously taken to himself another rib, for which crime to the dignity of the U.S. he is in imminent peril." Turning himself over to Kinney does not have the appearance of being too perilous. It appears that the whole plan was to make Waite, Drake, and Connor look ridiculous in their accusations of Mormon disrespect for the law.

"Journal History," Mar. 12, 1863, recorded another flare-up caused by soldiers riding into town on horse-back. The flag was hoisted and men were gathered "fearing the soldiers were going to do harm."

Millennial Star, XXV (Apr. 4, 1863), 217-219, was an editorial entitled "Exciting Rumors--How to Counteract Evil Designs," informing its readers of the events in Utah and assuring them that there was "no shadow of a doubt but every effort made by the enemies of truth and the servants of God, to destroy his work from off the earth and injure those who

Connor must have felt on the spot for having stirred up trouble at a time of great national distress. His letters to the Command of the Department of the Pacific seemed to be a combination of justification for his actions and warning of the Mormon duplicity. The statement attributed him may have been rumor or it may have been part of a plan to get Connor's forces out of the country.¹⁹ At any rate, Connor's "Irish" was sufficiently aroused to inspire a volley of correspondence. Colonel Connor had informed General Wright that "he was impressed with the belief that they [the Mormons] are

are seeking to establish it, will only result in its advancement and hasten its ultimate triumph, . . ." The article ended with the caution that only those who adhere to the principle of "gathering" can expect to be blessed.

California papers reported the "strange news" from Utah. The Daily Alto California of March 11, 1863, advised "there is one thing, however, that we do know, Col. P. Edward Connor and his regiment were sent across the mountains to protect the telegraph and the overland mail and to fight Indians, and not to kick up trouble with the Mormons or any other class of persons. The Government has enough of fighting now on its hands and there is no necessity of increasing it. Perhaps an expenditure of a few more millions of dollars in a Utah War is deemed necessary to promote the happiness of somebody behind the scenes." (The editor could have been referring to conditions during the Utah War as described by William P. Mackinnon, "Buchanan and the Spoils System," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 127-150.) The Sacramento Daily Union theorized "A conflict at this time would prove a great misfortune to California. It would also prove fatal to the Mormons, and hence we reason that they will avoid any hostile demonstrations except in self defense." Whitney, History of Utah, II, 99.

¹⁹The untimeliness of disturbing the Mormons, the light it cast on Connor personally in the eyes of his superior officers, the careful wording of Brigham Young's and John Taylor's speeches that would indicate some soft pedalling, and the simultaneous surrender of Brigham Young to Judge Kinney for having taken unto himself another "rib" would all be indicative that some strategy was being employed to make Connor look ridiculous and cause his recall.

courting an attack by the forces; that they do not wish to take the initiative, but will do all in their power to provoke a combat."²⁰ A full account of the sources of friction and the activity of the past week was subsequently written by Connor and forwarded to Washington on March 30, 1863.²¹ To attribute these events to gross misunderstanding would be

²⁰"Letter from General Wright, Department of the Pacific, to General Thomas, Adjutant General for the U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.," Mar. 14, 1863, Orton, Records of California Men, p. 509.

²¹Letter from Colonel Connor to Drum, Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. Department of the Pacific, Mar. 15, 1863, Orton, Records of California Men, pp. 510-511. "I have the honor to communicate, for the information of the Gen. commanding, the following facts in relation to the extraordinary proceedings of the people of the Territory during the last twelve days. On Tuesday, the third instant, an excited meeting was held in the Mormon Tabernacle, in Salt Lake City, at which resolutions were passed asking his Excellency Gov. Harding, and Associate Justices Drake and Waite, to resign and leave the Territory. The reason they gave for this action is that those gentlemen caused a bill to be presented before Congress which they say is inimicable to their interests; but I have reason to believe that such is not their real cause of grievance, and that because those gentlemen do not choose to become the tools and creatures of Brigham Young, and follow in the footsteps of ex-Gov. Cummings, the present Chief Justice Kinney, and the present Sec. of State, Frank Fuller, is the real cause of this action against them. The latter officers, Messrs. Kinney and Fuller, disgrace their commissions and the Government they represent, and I unhesitatingly assert, that while the former Chief Justice, Kinney holds his office, no conviction can be had before his Court against a Mormon unless Brigham Young would sanction such conviction. This appears strong language but the assertions are susceptible of proof, and manifest to every resident and loyal citizen of the Territory."

"On Tuesday, the third, and between the hours of 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. of the fourth instant, Brigham caused to be removed from the Territorial arsenal to his residence all the ordnance and ordnance stores, and placed a large body of armed men in his yard, which is enclosed with a high stone wall. On Monday, the ninth, he raised the national flag over his residence, for the first time, I am told since his arrival in the Territory, but not, however, from motives of

failing to interpret the nature of either main character, Brigham Young or Patrick Connor. They were both strong-willed, ambitious, dynamic men who felt strongly committed to a course of action. They were doubtlessly sincere in the actions they employed in fulfilling the commitment espoused. Eruption was

of patriotism, or for any loyal purpose, but as a signal to his people to assemble armed, which they immediately did, to the number of about one thousand five hundred. The same farce was performed again on the 12 inst. and the only excuse his adherents give for his extraordinary proceeding is that he feared I would arrest him for uttering treasonable language, but, in my opinion, that is not the true cause, as there has been nothing in my conduct or language which could be construed so as to induce that belief, further than what I said when I first entered the Territory, . . . Since my arrival the people of the Territory have been treated kindly and courteously by both my officers and men, who have never given one of them cause of complaint, which the people freely acknowledge. But, notwithstanding this, the courtesy we have given is returned with abuse; they rail at us in their sermons in which we are also classed with cut-throats and gamblers, our Government cursed and villified in their public speeches and meetings, and those of their people who supply this camp with vegetables, eggs, butter, and produce are proscribed and shamefully abused for extending such favors. . . ."

 "The people are by order of Brigham Young, busily engaged in preparing ammunition and cannon, and their foundry for some weeks past has been casting cannonballs; they also loudly assert that I shall not be reinforced, and that if the attempt is made they will cut off the reinforcements in detail and attack me. The law against polygamy is a dead letter on the statute books; Brigham has lately violated it, . . . Yesterday morning Brigham Young started for the northern settlements with a guard of one hundred and fifty men. Previous to starting they were drawn up in front of his residence, and as the Governor's son . . . was passing, some of them shouted: 'Three cheers for ex-Governor Harding, and long life to Jeff Davis.'"

"This is a plain and brief statement of the facts as they exist here, and, unless reinforced, as I have requested in a former communication, I would respectfully recommend that my command be withdrawn from the Territory, and the Mormons be left to further preparations for their infamous conduct until such time as the Government can spare the number of troops required to forever put a stop to their outrageous, unnatural, and treasonable institutions."

inevitable with two diametrically opposed ideas forced to exist in the same neighborhood.

Petitions were sent to President Abraham Lincoln--the Mormons petitioning for the resignation of Harding, Waite and Drake, and the Gentiles petitioning for the retention of these three officers and the removal of Secretary Frank Fuller and Chief Justice Kinney on the charge of being "subservient to the will of Brigham Young." Lincoln answered by compromising. Governor Harding was recalled, Waite and Drake were reassigned as associate justices, Fuller and Kinney were removed from office. James Doty was appointed Governor; Amos Reed, Secretary; and John Titus, Chief Justice.²²

Distrust and dislike prevailed. Connor continued to send letters to his commanding officers and the Mormons kept

²²George U. Hubbard, "Abraham Lincoln As Seen by the Mormons," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (Spring, 1962), 102-103.

With Harding's removal, the Mormon press employed their usual "undiplomatic" appraisal of the worth and morals of the man. ". . . his mind has lost its proper balance and become so exceedingly variable and eccentric as to render him more worthy of a residence in a lunatic asylum than to be occupant of a Gubernatorial chair . . . we cannot imagine what should prompt the Federal Government to render itself ridiculous in the eyes of the world by sending and retaining a lunatic to represent its interests and stir up strife among its loyal citizens. One of two things is pretty evident, either that Governor Harding is an insane man or that he and his clique are traitors, acting in conjunction with, and under instruction from, the leaders of the Southern Confederacy, and endeavoring to create difficulty between Utah and the Federal Government, hoping to find employment in that direction for some of the troops and means of the Government, and thus weaken its hands in its struggle against the great rebellion." Millennial Star, XXV, 331. For further details see Whitney, History of Utah, II, 103.

up their anti-Gentile campaign. Elder George A. Smith, writing to his brother, John L. Smith, explained his 15 day service on a Grand Jury. "We concluded our labors by presenting Camp Douglas as a nuisance, and by conferring a similar compliment upon Governor Harding."²³

After Harding's quiet exit on June 11th, things began to settle down. Brigham Young was curious to know exactly what President Lincoln now intended to do with the Mormons. He urged T. B. H. Stenhouse, delegate for the Territory, to meet with the President in order to discover his intentions. It was on this occasion that Lincoln recounted his story of the "Old Log" and his determination to "plow around" the Mormons. It was evident Lincoln intended to "leave them alone" in

²³ "Journal History," Apr. 15, 1863. Elder Smith also mentioned that "Col. Connor has succeeded in forcing a war on the friendly Indians who reside in the Territory, . . ." The "Journal History" contained pertinent information in support of this accusation. Brigham Young had met with "Chiefs Anterro, Tabby, George and old Sowiett" explaining to them the causes of the late "attack by the soldiers upon the Utahs at Spanish Fork; he showed that if Little Soldier had kept away from the mail stations . . . there would have been no difficulty at present; and he counseled all the Indians to keep away from the Americans." He offered them flour and beef if they would keep this counsel. "Journal History," Apr. 25, 1863.

Similar advice was given to Kanosh, head chief of the Pohvan Indians. "President Young told him not to fear, but stay at home and if soldiers came, flee to the mountains and keep out of their way. Also that he was better off without assistance from the agents, for if they were with them they would be used up. Kanosh and the rest expressed great love and confidence in President Young and the Saints, but the little love they had for the Americans . . ." (In light of the Mormon belief that the Indians would rise up against the remnants of the white people after the great destructive war,

return for being left alone which to both seemed a fair deal.²⁴

As July closed it seemed as if the Mormons had succeeded in settling threats to the establishment of the Kingdom of God.²⁵ A Gentile was nominated delegate to Congress and traveling with President Young and George A. Smith, Judge Kinney canvassed the Territory to acquaint himself with the desires of his constituency.²⁶ It was an interesting

which they interpreted to mean the Civil War now raging, it is clear why these attempts to cement Indian relations were of paramount importance. Gentiles failed to comprehend the Mormon motive in this endeavor.) "Journal History," May 16, 1863.

²⁴Hubbard, "Abraham Lincoln," p. 103. Hubbard recorded the conversation that took place on June 6, 1863. ". . . at the insistence of President Brigham Young he [Stenhouse] called on Lincoln to ascertain what course he intended to pursue with the 'Mormons' in Utah. Lincoln was silent for some moments and then said: 'Stenhouse, when I was a boy on the farm in Illinois there was a great deal of timber on the farms which we had to clear away. Occasionally we would come to a log which had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. That's what I intend to do with the Mormons. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone, I will let him alone.'"

²⁵By the fall of 1863, the Mormons exercised control over the army because of Connor's dependency on them for food and hay. "General Connor's troops are on their last 15 days rations. They have applied to Bishop John Sharp to feed them. A vote was taken in the Council that they should be fed; and at the suggestion of Pres. Brigham Young wheat was to be sold to them at \$3 per bushel." "Journal History," Dec. 21, 1863. Another example of Mormon control of the troops was occasioned by some soldiers disobeying certain rules at the Theatre. As a result no tickets were sold at the ticket office, but were sold through the Bishops of the Wards. Officers, with the reputations of being gentlemen were able to get tickets only through the Bishop. "Journal History," Nov. 4, 1863.

²⁶"Journal History," July 8 and 30, 1863.

political manuever for a non-Mormon to represent them at this time. Some historical writers infer that the office was a reward to Kinney because of his support of the Mormon cause. In addition to this, it is plain that the Mormons were determined to adopt a more cooperative, helpful attitude toward the Federal Government. It was apparent to them that "winning friends" would be more helpful in accomplishing their purpose than to create animosities. Selecting a non-Mormon to represent them in Congress ought to convince outsiders that they were not a closed group but would cooperate with all who would accept the establishment of the Kingdom of God in righteousness.²⁷ A gentile representative might serve to relieve accusations of Mormon theocratic monopoly. The Mormon concept of the Kingdom of God as a political organization was believed to embrace men of all races and creeds. Selecting Kinney as representative was proof of this belief.

The Mormons continued to observe the "signs of the times." They had strong conviction that events would further unfold as prophecied. Although some public discourses were soft-pedaled, there is no evidence that plans for consummation of their purposes at this critical time changed at all.²⁸

²⁷It has not been discovered whether Kinney understood these implications or not. After serving two years as Utah delegate, he settled in Nebraska never returning to Utah. This warrants further research.

²⁸Quotations to show the change of tone to one of peace and cooperation follow:

"The spirit of our politics is peace. If we could have our choice, it would be to continually walk in the path of peace; and had we the power, we would direct the feet of all

Orson Hyde turned to the establishment of the Kingdom in his discourse at General Conference in April of 1863:

In [the nation's] estimation and feeling they are displaying superlative wisdom, but in the estimation of the Almighty they are destroying all their vitality and power. If this be the design as a chastisement from the Almighty for the transgressions of the people, then they will weaken and waste away each other until retributive justice is satisfied. While they will make such efforts and exertions for their kingdom and government, which is but one of time, what should we do and what exertions should we make to build up a kingdom in which there is life, exaltation and glory for evermore? Should we not labor to clear away and to demolish the great Babylon of corruption that has afflicted the human race with increasing strength from the fall of man? This fabric will be destroyed in this generation. . . .

men to walk in the same path. We wish to live in peace with our God, with our neighbors and with all men. I am not aware that we have ever been guilty of inaugurating any difficulty whatever. We claim the privilege of freedom of speech--of giving our views on national affairs and on religion--and this privilege we claim wherever we are in our free country. Is there any particular sin in this? Is there anything in this that is contrary to the constitution of our country, or to the institutions of freedom established by our revolutionary fathers? Freedom of speech is a right which we hold most dear, considering, at the same time, that every person availing himself of this right is accountable to his fellowmen for the manner in which he uses it." Journal of Discourses, X (July 8, 1863), 229-230.

"Touching the present trouble that exists in our nation, I can say that we consider it very lamentable and disastrous. Mankind do not understand themselves nor the design of their Creator in giving them an existence in the world. It was never designed by him that his children, who claim to be intelligent beings should slay each other; such conduct is anti-Christian and repugnant to every lofty aspiration and Godlike principle in the better portion of man's nature. War is instigated by wickedness--it is the consequence of a nation's sin. We have, however, but little to say upon the war which is now piercing the heart of the nation with many sorrows, for we are far from its scenes of blood and deadly strife." Journal of Discourses, X (July 8, 1863), 230.

This represents quite a different approach and style than that employed at the beginning of the war when "retributive justice" and the "wickedness of Babylon" were stressed in strong terms.

While this is going on, . . . we shall see more than ever the necessity of faithfulness and fidelity to the Kingdom of God.²⁹

The arming of the Negroes in Louisiana under the command of General Banks alerted the Mormons to the part of the revelation which read: ". . . after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war." The horrors of such an event was a point of speculation and led to a restatement of the Negroes' position of servitude as decreed by God.³⁰ That these things were actually transpiring gave increased energy to the accomplishment of the Mormon cause.

Another aspect of the Civil War that was extremely exciting to the Mormons was the continuation of the battles in Missouri. "Guerilla warfare in Missouri" encouraged the Saints to form definite plans for the return to the land promised to them as the New Jerusalem.³¹ The following entry copied from the St. Joseph, Missouri Herald appeared in the "Journal History:"

DEVASTATION IN JACKSON CO., MO.

The depopulation of the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates and Vernon is thorough and complete. One may ride

²⁹Journal of Discourses, X, 156. See also Journal of Discourses, X (Brigham Young, Oct. 6, 1863), 255-256; (John Taylor, Oct. 10, 1863), 259.

³⁰Millennial Star, XXV (July 11, 1863), 441-442; Journal of Discourses, X, 110-111; Millennial Star, XXV (Dec. 12, 1863), 787.

³¹Millennial Star, XXV (Sept. 19, 1863), 198-199.

for hours without seeing a single inhabitant and deserted houses and farms are everywhere to be seen. The whole is one grand picture of desolation.³²

Such information of conditions lent credence to the views forwarded from Washington by Hooper in 1862 and the subsequent prophetic words of Brigham Young concerning the return to Jackson County.

The revelation of 1832 had referred to the spread of the war beginning in South Carolina until it involved all the nations of the earth. George Q. Cannon as President of the European Mission was especially alert to observe indications of this coming to pass. The Millennial Star was replete with his observations of "wicked Babylon" on the other side of the Atlantic.

The morning of the coming year dawns gloomily over the inhabitants of many lands. Distress and misery sit enthroned in the habitations of millions; and the prospects for the future are dark and lowering in the extreme. What shall the future reveal for us?

Cannon then expounded on the precarious position of England, France and the "warlike spirit" of all Europe. The recurrent theme of his writings was the inability of the nations to accept the warnings of the Mormon missionaries and thus proceed in the mass destruction of the world.³³

³²"Journal History," Oct. 18, 1863.

³³Millennial Star, XXV (Jan. 3, 1863), 4. See also, "Predictions and Warnings of No Avail to the Wicked," (Aug. 22, 1863), 537-538; "Preparations of the Nations for the Coming Struggle," (Apr. 4, 1863), 210-211; "European Complications--A Congress or War," (Dec. 5, 1863), 770-771; "Retrospect of the Year, 1863," (Dec. 26, 1863), 821-823.

For over thirty years the servants of God have been untiring in their efforts to arouse the human family to a sense of their true condition before the Lord. They have borne persecution of the most relentless description, have suffered scorn, indignities and privations innumerable, but their words have been in a great measure unheeded. They have been treated as impostors or fanatics for their pains, yet they have foretold being inspired of God, in plainness the very events that are now transpiring. They have declared, and have not faltered in their testimony, that the misery and distress, the wars and desolations which are so fearfully inaugurated both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, should surely befall the nations; . . . Some short time may elapse before all this is fulfilled; but present events foreshadow its complete fulfillment.³⁴

The strength of the proofs of the "Latter-day revelations" caused the Mormons to render little support to the Union cause. Editorializing at the advent of the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Cannon said:

Abolitionists are jubilant now that this Proclamation has been issued by the Government. They imagine that the slave will readily avail himself of the liberty offered to him by the North, and that the backbone of the rebellion will thus be broken. Two great points, they think, will now be gained; the freedom of the slave and the restoration of the Union, and they are in ecstasies at the prospect. Viewing the contest, however, from our standpoint, there is every reason to doubt the good results which they so confidently and jubilantly anticipate. The Union is like a cracked dish; it is hopelessly and irremediably broken. It is beyond the power of President Lincoln or any faction in the Nation, either North or South, to prescribe a remedy that will heal the fracture or prevent it widening. The decree of the Lord has gone forth respecting this consummation and no power can prevent its complete fulfillment.³⁵

It is evident that the short entry of March 30, 1863, in the "Journal History" mentioning President Lincoln's appointment

³⁴Millennial Star, XXV, 1-4.

³⁵Millennial Star, XXV (Feb. 14, 1863), 98-99. The article was entitled "Emancipation of the Slaves."

of April 13th as a day of national fasting and prayer, would not arouse hopeful supplications from the Mormon people. Brigham Young and Mormon leaders held nothing in common with Walt Whitman, the poet of the Civil War, who maintained hopefulness in the perpetuation of the Union. Whitman saw the Civil War as a chance for people to shed dirty politicians and to give America a new chance. Although the horrors of war were shattering to his dream, he never despaired. Lincoln was the savior Whitman prophesied of.³⁶ On the other hand the Mormons prepared for the destruction of the nations.

Gathering out of Babylon was continually emphasized.³⁷ Mormon poets penned lines indicating that "fleeing to Zion" was the only escape from the ensuing catastrophes.³⁸

³⁶Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, pp. 111-113.

There are many references to Lincoln's religious nature. Lincoln gave a poignant admission of religious faith when he decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. "I determined . . . to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation . . . I said nothing to anyone; but I made the promise to myself and (hesitating a little)--to my Maker. . . . I am going to fulfill that promise." Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens, p. 159. However religious Lincoln was, he was not looking to the Kingdom of God for the answers to national problems, thus was condemned by the Mormons to failure.

³⁷For articles on "Gathering" see Millennial Star, XXV, (1863), 25, 37, 40-41, 49, 105-107, 152-184, 189, 201, 232-234, 241, 298, 361-362, 371, 373, 388, 552, 565, 640, 696, 821-822.

³⁸Following are two examples of poetry stressing "gathering."

Tremble ye nations of Gentiles, for yonder
The hosts of the despot in battle array
With engines of war shake the earth with their thunder,
--The bright sword is drawn and the sheath thrown away!
Sound the alarm of war,
Through nations near and far,
Let its dread tones be heard o'er land and sea;

Not only were latter-day revelations employed as a chart for foreseeing the future, but Old Testament prophets were interpreted to apply to the times. This further excited the activities and purposes of the Mormons. Isaiah 54 saying "lengthen the cords" had meant to deploy more missionaries over broader areas. Joel 2:28-31, which prophecied of strange celestial signs and the "terrible day of the Lord" referred to that very time. Scriptures were interpreted in light of the Mormon belief in the imminency of the establishment of the Kingdom of God. As Brigham Young pondered the "more than half a million of the brave sons of our country that now sleep in the dust," he was prompted to relate the Civil War times to the prophecied time in which "The sons of God saw the daughter of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose." "For it is written, 'Thy men shall fall by the sword, and they mighty in war.

Zion shall dwell in peace,
 Israel will still increase,
 Liberty ne'er shall cease, Israel is Free!
 -- Anonymous.

Millennial Star, XXV, 288.

A day, Jehovah has decreed,
 When Babylon shall be o'erthrown,
 Is hastening on with rapid speed;
 From heaven He's spoken,
 Earth's rulers are trembling,
 Their union is broken,
 But Saints are assembling
 Where He his holy will makes known.
 --John Burrows Birmingham

Millennial Star, XXV, 160.

Many issues of the 1863 Millennial Star contained poems written on this theme.

And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach."³⁹ Perhaps the Mormon Elders would save the nation during the troubled Civil War years by taking the war widows for wives and bringing up their children in Zion.

The Southern Utah Mission was struggling to produce enough cotton to alleviate the cotton shortage and allow the Mormons to be independent. The land was harsh and unyielding. Where they had suffered extreme floods in 1862, now they were plagued with drought. In spite of it all the settlers had succeeded in raising a crop. Prices were sky-high and the California market was begging for the product. It was apparently tempting to the Mormons to raise a little cash by exporting their supply. Such action was "astonishing" to President Young. He advised them to hold on to their cotton.⁴⁰

³⁹Journal of Discourses, X (May 31, 1863), 195. Orson Hyde elaborated on implications of this idea in a letter to President Cannon, June 12, 1863. Millennial Star, XXV, 540-541. The quotation above was taken from Isaiah 3:25, 4:1.

⁴⁰Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," p. 127. In a letter from President Young to Brother Crosby, Nov. 6, 1863, Young said: ". . . our cotton machinery is not yet in operation; and I cannot state precisely when it will be. However, we are crowding the work on it, and expect to start as soon as possible. . . . are you or any of the brethren going to send cotton out of the Territory to sell? If so, rather than have it sent out of the country, I will buy, and pay the money, for the brethren are proposing so to dispose of, and thus prevent a course so injurious to our self-preservation . . . If any have proposed sending their cotton out of the Territory, for sale, it is really astonishing, it would indicate such a determination, either ignorantly or wilfully, to put beyond my reach so far as they can, every facility by which

Some must have ignored the Prophet's advice for the following spring 11,000 pounds of cotton lint were sent to California.⁴¹

Wordly influences crept into other aspects of the communities' activities. The discovery of gold played no small part in distracting concentration on the Kingdom of God. Colonel Connor anticipated mineral wealth in Utah Territory and deployed his troops in search of it. Being moderately successful, Connor envisaged a course of action that would modify the Mormon peculiarities as well as develop latent resources. He submitted a detailed account of his activities, findings and plans in a letter to the Department of the Pacific, October 26, 1863:

In former communications I have had the honor to fully set forth my views to the Department Commander relative to the condition of the Mormon people and the sentiments of their leaders, and have endeavored to present my opinion as to the settlement of the Mormon question, as far as it has necessarily thrust itself upon me in the performance of strictly military duties. I need hardly repeat that it has been my constant endeavor to maintain amicable relations with the people and avoid conflict, as far as compatible with the strict and proper fulfillment of the obligations resting upon me. Fully understanding that it was no part of my business to interfere with the religious tenets, or even the illegal practices of this peculiar people, except when called upon by the civil authorities, the open declaration of their bold, continued, and unceasing teaching

I might be enabled to benefit the community. I hope the brethren will see their true interest in regard to their cotton, and govern themselves accordingly, by keeping it inside our border, so supplying our pressing wants. When we have more cotton that we should manufacture and use here, will be time enough to think of sending it abroad."

⁴¹Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," p. 141.

of disloyalty, have time and again tended to produce excitement leading to collision, which have only been avoided by the most temperate and moderate course of the officers and men of my command. . . .

Entertaining the opinion that Mormonism, as preached and practiced in this Territory, is not only subversive of morals, in conflict with the civilization of the present age, and oppressive on the people, but also deeply and boldly in contravention of the laws and best interests of the nation, I have sought by every proper means in my power to arrest its progress and prevent its spread. As a question for the civilian, I can conceive of but two ways of striking at its root and annihilating its baneful influence. The one, by an adequate military force, . . . the other, by inviting into the Territory large numbers of Gentiles to live among and dwell with the people. With these remarks I desire to inform the Department Commander that I have considered the discovery of gold, silver and other valuable minerals in the Territory of the highest importance, and as presenting the only prospect of bringing hither such a population as is desirable or possible. The discovery of such mines would unquestionably induce an immigration to the Territory of a hardy, industrious, and enterprising population, as could not but result in the happiest effects, and, in my opinion, present the only sure means of settling peaceably the 'Mormon Question.'⁴²

The Mormon leaders preferred to ignore the discovery of minerals. Late in 1863, they expressed the opinion that the discovery of precious ores would occasion a distraction. Elder George A. Smith writing to Judge Kinney debunked the project.

Gold diggers in the West Mountains have succeeded in making a wonderful discovery, about forty feet below the surface, of lead, sulphuret of iron and iron pyrites. The Government has men all through the mountains in every direction searching for gold, the hopes being that it can be found in such quantities as to cause a great influx of rowdies and destroy the order that remains in the mountains.⁴³

⁴²Orton, Records of California Men, pp. 513-514.

⁴³"Journal History," Nov. 4, 1863.

Brigham Young considered Connor's project as fraudulent use of government funds. He considered it outrageous that the Federal Government was buying picks, shovels and spades for an army which was sent, not to meddle in Mormon affairs, but to guard the mail route. While the troops were out prospecting with the intent of destroying the Mormon forcefulness as a united people, the Mormons were expected to produce the supplies the miners needed. This aggravated the Mormon leader.⁴⁴

Connor diluted the Mormons' attention to their primary aim. With the Civil War at its height, the Mormons instead of concentrating on observing the signs and preparing for the final preparations for the enormous calling they perceived to be theirs were caught up in the excitement and problems inherent to a gold rush.

⁴⁴Journal of Discourses, X, 254-255.

CHAPTER V
IN THE WORLD, BUT NOT OF THE WORLD
(1864)

GOLD! GOLD!! GOLD!!!
GOLD IN THE MOUNTAINS! GOLD IN THE ROCKS!! GOLD IN THE
SANDS!!! GOLD IN THE STREAMS!!!! GOLD IN THE KAN-
YONS!!!!!! GOLD IN THE CELLARS!!!!!! GOLD IN THE
STREETS!!!!!! GOLD IN THE GUTTERS!!!!!! GOLD EVERY-
WHERE!!!!!!

But stop, we wish the public to know things as they are. In sober earnest and truth, where is all the gold? We presume, from what we hear, that it is still tolerably plenty in California, very plenty in Washington, Idaho and Arizona Territories, and that there is some in Colorado and Nevada Territories. But, so far as Utah is concerned, after sifting all reports up to the present date, it is only in the hands of Madam Rumor, who is lavishing her blandishments and loudly blowing her trumpet to deceive the thoughtless into a waste of their time and means.¹

To most frontier people the cry of gold would be most welcome but it was not to the Mormons. The discovery of precious metals existed as a threat to their great destiny. The events of 1864 clearly depict the dualism inherent in the Mormon community--what they envisioned themselves becoming as a result of the Civil War and what in fact they were doomed to become.

On New Years day Wilford Woodruff recorded:

This is the commencement of a New Year. I have lived to see 50 New Years, and I have kept a daily journal for the last 30 years of my life . . . I have watched the

¹Millennial Star, XXVI, 278-279. (Reprinted from the Deseret News.)

signs of the times for many years and the fulfillment of prophecy and I am satisfied that there are great and mighty events at our doors, among which are great wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes, storms and tempests, the overthrow of populous nations, kingdoms and thrones, the opening of the seals and the pouring out of the plagues upon Great Babylon, in fulfillment of Daniel, the Revelation of John, Jos. Smith and all prophets who have spoken of the last days. The last three years have been very important in the history of the United States. The Union has been dissolved and a bloody war has been raging for three years; and the spirit of God is being withdrawn from the nation and the wicked are slaying the wicked and the land is being deluged in blood and great destruction awaits the nation and there are great events awaiting all nations, and the way is preparing for the Lord Jesus Christ and his coming will overtake the world as a thief in the night. The year 1864 will be an eventful year, and so will all the following years till the coming of the Savior. The Lord is watching over his interests in Zion and sustaining his Kingdom upon the earth and preparing the way for the return of his saints to Jackson County, Mo., to build up the waste places of Zion. Jackson County has been entirely cleared of its inhabitants during the year 1863 which is one of the greatest miracles manifested in our day, and those who have driven the Saints out of Missouri and spoiled them are in their turn now driven out spoils and there is much distress in all the land where the Saints have been persecuted; and the judgements of God will continue upon the Nation until the blood of the prophets is avenged.²

In keeping with their visionary establishment of God's Kingdom, the organization of officers for the State of Deseret was kept in tact to be ready to administer the laws to the nations. The Utah Legislature had met, finished its business, and adjourned on the 22nd of January. On the next day "the Legislature of the State of Deseret met in the forenoon and sat until sundown. The members met in joint session, received the message of Governor Young which was short but good

²"Journal History," Jan. 1, 1864.

and plain after which the assembly adjourned."³

The Mormon leaders' views of the national and international situation as expressed in 1864 were colored with the same promise of inevitable destruction that had been preached since the days of Prophet Joseph Smith and had gained particular momentum with the outbreak of the Civil War. In a discussion with President Young, Elder George A. Smith was informed that "it was the design of the leaders of the Southern Confederacy to unite with Mexico in establishing a monarchy rather than to agree to the reconstruction of the Union." His conversation reflected his tenacious adherence in support of the definite declarations that had been voiced during the earlier war years:

The war now raging in our nation is in the providence of God, and was told us years and years ago by the Prophet Joseph; and what we are now coming to was foreseen by him, and no power can hinder. Can the inhabitants of our once beautiful, delightful and happy country avert the horrors and evils that are now upon them? Only by turning from their wickedness, and calling upon the Lord. If they will turn unto the Lord and seek after Him, they will avert this terrible calamity, otherwise it cannot be averted. There is no power on the earth nor under it, but the power of God, that can avert the evils that are now coming upon the nation.

However, President Young must have had little hope that the nation would repent and turn to the Lord for he added:

What is the prospect? What does the statesman declare to us? What does he point us to? Peace and prosperity? Brotherly-kindness and love? Union and happiness? No! no! calamity upon calamity, misery upon misery.⁴

³"Journal History," Jan. 22, 23, 1864.

⁴"Journal History," Mar. 24, 1864.

His view of the saving mission had perhaps been altered in the means to be employed for its accomplishment but he still foresaw that the State of Deseret as God's Kingdom on earth would render aid to preserve the shattered remnants of the nation.

Do you see any necessity, Latter-day Saints, for providing for the thousands coming here? Suppose some of your brothers, uncles, children, grand-children or your old neighbors, fleeing here from the bloodshed and misery in the world, were to come to you. . . . The time is coming when your friends are going to write to you about coming here, for this is the only place where there will be peace. There will be wars, famine, pestilence, and misery through the nations of the earth, and there will be no safety in any place but Zion, as has been foretold by the Prophets of the Lord, both anciently and in our day.⁵

The Millennial Star contained editorials in the same vein, reiterating the marvelous prophecy pertaining to the outbreak of the war, its actual fulfillment, and the failure of the people to see so plain a sign. That national leaders were calling for prayer and fasting and were reflecting strong religious purposes in their speeches and writings was not precisely the remedy, as the Mormons viewed it. More specific religious action was required, summarized in an editorial:

To a calm, reflecting mind, it would appear reasonable to suppose that a wise Government, having seen and experienced the fulfillment of a portion of the prophecy, would take warning and seek, if possible, to adopt those measures which would avert the remaining terrible evils and that, with this view, it would consult with the servants of the Lord, and seek His counsel and advice through them. But, instead of this, the people and their rulers appear to be more infatuated and determined

⁵Journal of Discourses, X (Brigham Young, May 15, 1864), 294-295. See also Millennial Star, XXVI (Orson Hyde, Oct. 7, 1864), 754.

than ever to accomplish their own destruction.⁶

The refusal to seek Mormon advice must have existed as a slight and an offence, even a disappointment in view of the tremendous buildup and preparation the Mormons had experienced. Zion was destined to hold the place once held by the United States of America, in offering freedom and plenty to all. Poetry written in celebration of the 4th of July, which was a very quiet day in Utah, reflects the Mormon belief in the transference of the place of the fulfillment of the "American dream" from the nation to Zion.

Tis Freedom's glorious birthday
 Beneath Columbia's sky.
 All Hail! Immortal Freedom, hail!--
 She was not born to die.

She lives! But, where? There's madness
 Upon our nation's brow,
 With reeking, crimson wreaths entwin'd
 O where is Freedom now?

Her path is on the mountains--
 Her home, the vales, below,
 Where God's eternal Priesthood rules,
 And Truth's pure currents flow.

War's bugle notes are sounding
 Where once fair Freedom spread
 Her banner forth--where now, in streams
 Fraternal blood is shed!

My country, O my Country,--
 My birth-place and my home;
 Thou, thou hast done the fearful deed
 That Seal'd thy hast'ning doom!

Ere long, a land of widows
 And orphans, thou wilt be:
 A 'MENE TEKEL' on thy wall,
 Foretells thy destiny.

⁶Millennial Star, XXVI (June 11, 1864), 377-379. See also Millennial Star, XXVI (July 17, 1864), 502-503.

Thy gallant sons are dying--
 Thy sons, by sons are slain:
 Pray'rs, tears and signs cannot recall
 Them back to life again.

A hand reach'd forth to save thee,
 Some twenty years ago;
 But thou, with hellish anger spurn'd
 That hand, and laid it low.⁷

To convert the world to this concept must have been difficult and disheartening. An editorial appearing in the Millennial Star presented the feeling that the nations of the earth had been sufficiently warned by the "Elders traveling to and fro in the midst of the people, preaching in private dwellings, public halls, in the market places and streets, and by the distribution of tracts and other works."⁸ Some believed that the people were without excuse for rejecting the truth, and should be left to pursue their way until the judgments and calamities of the Almighty were poured out upon them. However, the Church leadership advised that the missionary effort should continue until all of the honest in heart still in Babylon could be contacted.

The message of God's revenge and retribution for sin was not unknown to the world. Thaddeus Stevens, Congressional leader during the Civil War years and representative of the anti-slavery movement, expressed this prevalent belief:

Those who believe that a righteous Providence punishes nations for national sins believe that this terrible

⁷Millennial Star, XXVI, 560 (Author unknown). "MENE TEKEL" referred to the writing on the wall, interpreted by Daniel to mean that God had weighed Belshazzar and his kingdom, found them wanting and would destroy them; Daniel 5:25.

⁸Millennial Star, XXVI, 248.

plague is brought upon us as a punishment for our oppression of a harmless race of men inflicted without cause and without excuse for ages. I accept this belief; for I remember that an ancient despot, not so cruel as this Republic, held a people in bondage--a bondage much lighter than American slavery; that the Lord ordered him to liberate them. He refused. His whole people were punished. Plague after plague was sent upon the land until the seventh slew the first-born of every household; nor did they cease until the tyrant "let the people go." We have suffered more than all the plagues of Egypt; more than the first-born of every household has been taken. We still harden our hearts and refuse to let the people go. The scourge still continues, nor do I expect it to cease until we obey the high behest of the Father of men.⁹

Abraham Lincoln in a letter to Kentucky editor, Albert G. Hodges, expressed the "collective national guilt" also. "I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. . . . If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."¹⁰

The similarity in the statement of the retribution is striking. The cause of the retribution is a point of great dissimilitude. An article in the Millennial Star described the Mormon standpoint of the cause of God's revenge:

. . . the crowning act in the iniquity of the people of the United States was in sanctioning the action of the General Government, when the army was sent by the President against the inoffensive people of Utah. Proud of the accorded station granted them by the nations of the earth, grown overbearing in consequence of the wonderful success God had caused to wait upon their labors, and

⁹U. S. Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, Jan. 13, 1865, pp. 265-266. Quoted in Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens, pp. 202-203.

¹⁰Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens, pp. 202-203.

corrupted by the wealth which filled their straining coffers, they determined to annihilate the people who worshipped God so unitedly. They could not prove anything against them; constitutional liberty granted them religious freedom; yet others mocked the forbearance which they displayed toward such enthusiastic and fanatics, and they determined, in an evil hour, to do away with the foul institutions of such a people.¹¹

Thaddeus Stevens' belief concerning the cause of God's vengeance was espoused by national leaders. This belief figured in the eventual freeing of the slaves. The Mormon belief for the cause of God's revenge was ignored. No recompense was offered for injustices they had suffered.

The Mormon press predicted that the re-election of Abraham Lincoln meant four more years of war.¹² Further disappointment in the failure of the Federal Government to recognize the important position of the Mormons in the cause of the war was voiced by John Taylor:

And when the nation with which we are associated is shaken to its centre and crumbles to pieces (it is pretty well shaken now; notwithstanding what our President seems to say about it, that everything is prosperous, and that we have more men now than before the war), notwithstanding all this, it is crumbling and falling, and it will continue to fall and to crumble, until it is no more, and by and by there will be an end of it.¹³

The Kingdom of God was the only means by which the nations could be saved and by Mormon interpretation this source of assistance was being ignored. As the year ended the world

¹¹Millennial Star, XXVI (June 11, 1864), 370-371.

¹²Millennial Star, XXVI (Dec. 10, 1864), 799.

¹³Journal of Discourses, XI (Dec. 11, 1864), 26.

situation was described in the Millennial Star:

The year eighteen hundred and sixty-four--how full of incidents to the world, of doubt, perplexity, casualty to life and property on sea and land; in this land [England], of poverty and distress and pestilence, and in America of unremitting war which has incessantly raged in its wildest fury, and would seem, through the almost unanimous re-election of Mr. Lincoln, has a renewal of its lease to an indefinite, if not an interminable future. To the nations of the earth the past year is a record of blood and tempest, and gloomy forebodings and destruction; yet we know it is but the beginning of sorrows which will continue to increase and spread abroad until all nations shall feel the avenging hand of Almighty God, for behold "Their cup of iniquity is filled," and the "hour of His judgment is come."¹⁴

While Mormon leaders attempted to maintain an aloofness from the wickedness of the world, a unified effort to maintain the spirituality believed prerequisite to the Kingdom of God and the sanction of the Lord, and an accurate estimation of the signs of the times in order to prescribe the next move, constant problems jerked them back to the reality of being not only "in the world, but of the world." Petty jealousies, hard feelings, drought, back-breaking effort to force the unyielding land to produce, and the constant attempt by non-Mormons to weaken the Mormon unity, brought them rudely face to face with the world from which they were attempting to escape or preferably save.

The rumored discovery of gold affected the other domestic issues of 1864--the relations with the Army, the emigration into Utah Territory, and the political dealings with the federal appointees. The soldiers at Camp Douglas had spent

¹⁴Millennial Star, XXVI (Dec. 31, 1864), 836.

their off-hours searching for mineral wealth. To Connor, the influx of hardy mining folk was the medicine Utah needed. He had begun publication of a newspaper called the Union Vedette, the title of which according to E. L. Sloan in writing to Elder Cannon, described its mission, "to keep watch."¹⁵ One of the purposes of the paper was to advertise the mining development and potential of the Utah Territory.

The reaction to the discovery of gold created "a great excitement, among the outsiders, . . . In the first number of the paper published at Camp Douglas there was a proclamation, inviting all the world to come and develop the rich mineral resources of Utah!" The correspondent added: ". . . we may expect to have a heavy flood of immigration here next spring, seeking for the precious dust so abundant (?) in this Territory."¹⁶ The insertion of the question mark by the writer of the letter reflected that the Church leaders plainly considered the whole affair a grand hoax to destroy the Mormon unity. Brigham Young described the miners:

. . . The Utah diggers, on the bench east of the City, are the meanest lot of diggers that I have yet heard of, for after ransacking the country from side to side, in the mountains, in the kanyons, in the hills, everywhere, trying to hire Indians and whites to tell them what they know about gold in Utah, and finding none, they still keep crying, printing and writing gold, gold, gold in abundance in Utah, and that, too, when they cannot so much as provide themselves with bread without depending on the community for it. Bishop Sharp, notwithstanding

¹⁵Millennial Star, XXVI, 123.

¹⁶"Journal History," Jan. 17, 1864. (Letter from William W. Cluff to President George Q. Cannon.)

they rejected his bid to furnish them with flour, has, at my request, for sometime been keeping them in bread-stuff, . . . and still the Utah diggers on the bench, the ones we are supplying with flour, are using every effort to induce an influx of poor people to a region where they have not only found no gold, but where they themselves are dependent for supplies.¹⁷

As Connor's forces prospected in Southern Utah, Daniel Wells, Commander of the Nauvoo legion wrote to Colonel Dane, Commander of Iron Military District advising him to muster his forces and have them "ready and handy to come to the rescue at a moment's notice."¹⁸

Information had been circulated that the army was frequently seen in the vicinity of Meadow Valley. While traveling through this area in May, President Snow of the Southern Utah Mission, met a detachment of 12 soldiers who were searching for an old wagon trail from Fort Crittendon to the Colorado River. Regardless of the activity surrounding them, Latter-day Saints were admonished not to "suffer themselves to be overcome by a spirit of covetousness, and a desire for riches to the 'exclusion of the Spirit of the Lord.'"¹⁹ However, it was important to keep the community of the Saints

¹⁷Millennial Star, XXVI (Letter from Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, Mar. 13, 1864), 170.

¹⁸Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," pp. 143-146. With Connor's troops wandering around the area and the increased settlement in Southern Utah to raise cotton, Indians were aroused, necessitating increased protection.

¹⁹Bleak, p. 147. At a High Council meeting held in St. George on the 11th of June, at least a month after President Snow had met the 12 soldiers on the trail, it was declared advisable to explore a more direct wagon route from St. George to the head of navigation on the Colorado River. Jacob Hamblin, Isaac Duffin, David H. Conger were appointed as exploring party for this purpose.

undefiled and unpolluted with outsiders, so Elder Snow, President of the Mission, called 25 "foot-loose" individuals to go with the Iron County Surveyor and "hold claim to the most desirable locations in these upper vallies." Snow in writing to Brigham Young added: ". . . we have not the strength and numbers to fill up and occupy these valleys."²⁰ James G. Bleak in recording the minutes of a High Council meeting in St. George noted:

At this meeting President Snow stated that in his recent visit to Clover and Meadow Vallies he was satisfied that it is the intention of General Connor and other Gentiles to settle there, and not only claim the mines of silver in that vicinity, but also the farming lands, water privileges, etc. in those and surrounding vallies.²¹

Connor was succeeding in some measure in bringing "the world" to the Mormons. His position was not one of control however. George A. Smith wrote the following contained in the "Journal History:" "Bishop John Sharp issued to this Ward 100 sacks of flour, this being the weekly rations to the U. S. Army at Camp Floyd [Douglas]. They are totally dependent on the President for bread, and he hates to give it to

²⁰Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," p. 151. (June 19, 1864)

²¹"Journal History," June 11, 1864.

Henry Ballard, resident of Cache Valley made the following entry on Jan. 17, 1864: "Sunday some home missionaries came to Logan from S. L. City sent by Prest. Young to preach throughout the Valley to awaken an interest among the people in regard to their duties . . . in the evening Brigham Young Jr spoke upon the virtues of the people and the plans of our enemies to come out here in the spring by the tens of thousands to search these mountains for gold mines in order to overrun us in our elections and lead the YOUNG[sic] in paths of vice, . . ."

them, but he does so, hoping that they will be removed in the spring."²²

The Mormons continued to express bitter feeling towards the Army in their publications:

The officers of the Territory who have been appointed during the last two years . . . have manifested a more bitter and hostile feeling than any who have preceded them. The officer in command of the army located his camp just outside the limits of Great Salt Lake City, . . . hoping that a collision would be brought about between the troops and the people of the Territory, which, of course, they expected would result disastrously to the latter. Everything that the most depraved and malicious ingenuity could devise was done, . . . to goad the people to desperation and force them into resistance to the arbitrary and oppressive measures adopted towards them.²³

No "cessation of hostilities" was anticipated and correctly so for in July, Connor had established a Provost Guard, housed in an empty building across the street from the South entrance to Temple Square. The building had been rented from Bishop Sharp for a military storehouse but at two o'clock Sunday afternoon, July 10, a company of cavalry took their posts there as worshippers gathered for Sunday afternoon services in the Tabernacle. This was a great source of

²²"Journal History," Jan. 14, 1864.

²³Millennial Star, XXVI (Apr. 2, 1864), 218-219. From Connor's correspondence, and from letters written by Mormons, including Brigham Young who often wrote that all was "quiet on the bench" and "the soldiers keep to themselves" a more accurate picture of the true state of affairs is gained. Both sides were guilty of falsely coloring conditions to incite reaction. Connor with about 300 soldiers by 1864 would never have risked "goading the people" to the point of collision. A military officer could be expected to have better odds than this. Much of the editorializing on the part of Gentiles and Mormons is exaggerated.

irritation. The Saints petitioned Governor Doty to have the guard removed. Its purpose was not thoroughly understood but it was feared that it existed as a "prelude to martial law or the seizure of public stores." In reality it served as another diversion distracting Mormon attention from the more important duties connected with establishing the Kingdom. President Young was in Provo. He started for Salt Lake picking up an armed escort enroute numbering from 200 to 500, even 5000 according to rumor, by the time he reached Salt Lake City.²⁴ As in previous uprisings armed conflict was avoided. ". . . the City Council appointed a committee to investigate the matter. This committee found that the only peaceable means was to have recourse to the Secretary of War. It was decided to build up the South entrance to the Tabernacle grounds with an adobe wall."²⁵ Facing a bricked-up wall must have been quite dull, for the excitement subsided and finally Connor withdrew the guard.

Vexations were not restricted to non-Mormons. Internal problems were the source of considerable disillusionment and distress. Opposition was evident in an editorial on "Gathering" in the Millennial Star. "Some may remark, 'Cannot the Lord save his people from the evils of Babylon without calling upon them to leave their homes? Cannot they serve him as well in their own lands as in America?'" The reply

²⁴Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, V, 53-56, 58-59. See also "Journal History," July 9, 10, 11, 1864.

²⁵"Journal History," July 12, 1864.

involved a rather harsh threat. "Their salvation, if they are to be saved at all, depends upon their obedience to the Gospel, therefore are they dependent upon the building up of Zion. Without the gathering and the establishment of Zion, there is no means of escape from destruction and death."²⁶

Despite this do it or die approach emigration from the European countries decreased from the previous year.²⁷ This was partially due to President Young's inability to send trains for the poor, as it was impossible to work on the Temple and send trains "on account of the slackness of the brethren in paying to the Fund and Church the large amount expended in their behalf."²⁸

Emigration was further complicated in 1864 by the influx of non-Mormons probably caused by the want and deprivations east of the Rockies. George A. Smith, in writing to his brother, described the "immense flood of overland emigration flowing through our settlement; the stream is said to be nearly 1000 miles long." With grain going to the Army, drought in the Southern settlements, and an influx of emigrants, the food supply was a problem. Elder Smith added: "We are doing our best to induce the people in the Territory to preserve their grain, fearing that the immense emigration

²⁶Millennial Star, XXVI (Sept. 3, 1864), 566-567.

²⁷Millennial Star, XXVI, 16. "Ladder-day Saints' Emigration Report, from Oct. 1, 1863 to Dec. 31, 1864."

²⁸Millennial Star, XXVI (July 16, 1864), 601.

passing through and stopping will use up the grain for their animals and so bring on another time of scarcity."²⁹

Records from Southern Utah gave hints to other internal stresses. In 1863, St. George had been assigned to furnish 55 teams and supplies to assist in emigration. When asked to supply 28 teams the following season they felt it too much to bear. The winter had been hard because of poor harvest and drought. On March 20, 1864 they had only "25 pounds, 12 ounces" of breadstuffs to last until harvest time. Due to the fact that the Southern Mission had been encouraged to plant over-acreage of cotton at the expense of foodstuffs conditions were even more critical. They felt some resentment for having to sacrifice their property in Salt Lake to take the Mission in the first place. When they were requested to send wagons to Florence for the emigration they felt the Church was not taking into consideration the extra 600 miles they had to send the wagons, and that their best stock would have to be sent at the expense of another year of farming. President Snow concluded his list of grievances of the Saints in the Southern Utah Mission by saying, "These well-known facts produce their effects on the minds of the people and somewhat quench the ardor of their zeal."³⁰

²⁹"Journal History," July 15, 1864.

³⁰"Journal History," Mar. 20, 1864. (Letter from President Erastus Snow to Bishop Edward Hunter.)

Indicative of the discord in the Southern settlements was the resignation of High Councilor Orson Pratt, Jr. He was later disfellowshipped. "Journal History," Sept. 18, 1864.

Matters were not simplified by having a non-Mormon in Washington. Correspondence between Delegate Kinney and Brigham Young dealt with the desire to remove the troops, admission as a State and defense against false charges.³¹ The letters seemed to be friendly chats and not of the informative, "secret planning" nature that those to Delegate Hooper had been. In his defense of the Mormons against the accusations of Fernando Wood, anti-Mormon Congressman, and others, it is true that he denied that the Mormons had ever been in a state of rebellion and probably represented them as fairly as he was capable.³² However, it is likely he never possessed the vision nor the background to represent them as a great people prepared to save the nation from catastrophe. Because of the reams of anti-Mormon letters in Washington files and certain "undignified" faux pas made by the Mormons, the peculiar people would have to wait for decades for acceptance from the government. Kinney might have done as much as anyone could do as the Civil War was drawing to its close.

Another interesting break in the unity of thought previously prevalent in the Mormon community was the founding of the Daily Telegraph by T. B. H. Stenhouse as expressed in the following salutatory:

To our readers, we this morning extend our cordial salutations, and, on this memorable day of national rejoicing (July 4th), we wish the citizens of Utah much

³¹"Letter from Brigham Young to Kinney, Mar. 9, 1864," Utah Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, Personal Papers, Miscellaneous.

³²Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, V, 25-28.

happiness, and most fervently hope that, on the recurrence of another national anniversary, we shall be able to congratulate them that "this cruel war is over," that our country, freed from that terrible scourge and desolation, is again in the van of progress, the highest in rank among the nations; that, schooled and instructed by adversity and sore affliction, her citizens have learned to appreciate the blessings of peace, and that justice, truth and virtue may hereafter be the characteristics of the Republic.³³

Stenhouse's belief in America and hopes for its perpetuation reflected in this editorial separated him from the mainstream of Mormon philosophy prevalent in 1864. It seemingly constituted a break in accepted interpretation of national affairs by Church leaders. Did the establishment of another paper in Salt Lake City with this apparent opposite approach to national affairs represent a schism in the unity of interpretation of prophecy and "signs of the times?"

The Mormons during 1864 found it increasingly difficult to be "in the world, but not of the world." They were discovering the impossibility of hurdling the petty, immediate troubles that were restricting action toward the accomplishment of their grand purposes and high destiny.

³³Millennial Star, XXVI, 253. (Reprinted). T. B. H. Stenhouse was a Mormon at this time, but later excommunicated, in 1869, for affiliation with the Godbeite Movement.

CHAPTER VI
FACING REALITY
(1865)

The great American war has been terminated, and the cry appears to be, peace, peace; but when glancing at the reports which reach us every mail, we can behold that a great national suicidal war has been succeeded by every species of crime, such as murder, rape, infanticide, and every conceivable form of counterfeiting, swindling and backbiting that has ever been developed in any age of the world.¹

"Everything seems to be moving to a finishing up of this war. Almost the whole South has surrendered, and to look at it naturally, people would think the troubles were about over, . . ."² The Mormons did not look at affairs "naturally." Their view of all events, especially on the national and international level, was influenced by their interpretation of prophecies. Surely all the details of the prophecy of 1832 would have to be fulfilled and in reality peace was still in the future. Early in 1865, it was believed man did not "possess wisdom sufficient to stay this current of bloodshed," but on the contrary, it was only "increasing in fury."³ On the Sunday before the surrender at Appomattox, Brigham Young

¹Millennial Star, XXVII (Dec. 30, 1865), 821-822. (Editorial.)

²Millennial Star, XXVII, 332. (Letter from Elder Thomas Taylor, New York, dated May 5, 1865, to the Editor.)

³Millennial Star, XXVII (Jan. 14, 1865), 27.

predicted there would be four more years of civil war.⁴ The Millennial Star which had run a weekly column, entitled "Summary of the News," during the war years describing the horrible ravages of war and details of the battles covered the following important news in one brief line: "The army of Virginia is completely disbanded, and Johnston has surrendered."⁵ As the war was drawing to a close the same column was completely omitted.⁶ So little was made of the settlement of hostilities that it leads one to believe that the Mormons refused to acknowledge the termination of the War. There were several things they expected. The Mormons still looked for (a) the uprising of the Indians in fulfillment of prophecy in the 1832 revelation; (b) their return to Jackson County, Missouri; (c) the spread of the war to many nations; and (d) famine, plagues and earthquakes to finish off the nations. During the Civil War years these events were apparently believed to be continuity to the Civil War that was in process, and not as happenings far removed in time. The discourses and writings of 1865 dealing with speculations concerning the events still to come made this fact quite clear. To catch the feeling of 1865, a perusal of extracts covering these points of prophecy and Mormon views of their fulfillment is informative:

⁴Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 606.

⁵Millennial Star, XXVII (May 13, 1865), 303.

⁶The "Summary of the News" column of the Millennial Star does not appear from June 17, 1865, until Aug. 12, 1865.

There are some very important portions of this prophecy of 1832, however, which yet remain to be fulfilled. To add to the sufferings and great calamities of the American nation, they will be greatly distressed by the aborigines, who will "marshall themselves, and become exceeding angry," . . . This event, we believe may not take place in its fulness until the nation has been greatly weakened by the death of millions in their own revolutionary battles. To what extent the Indians will have power over the nation, is not stated in this revelation; but from what Jesus informed their forefathers at the time of his personal ministry among them, as recorded in the Book of Mormon, they will have power in a great measure over the whole nation.⁷

The Mormons had considered the desolation of Missouri as a miracle in preparation for their return to Jackson County, Missouri, to establish the New Jerusalem, or "center Stake of Zion." Henry Ballard made the following entry in his personal journal on May 7, 1865. "G. Q. Cannon spoke upon the necessity of our being united in all things. G. A. Smith spoke a short time upon home manufacture and prepare ourselves to build up the center stake of Zion. Prest. Young told us how to prepare and what ones would be called to go back."⁸

⁷Millennial Star, XXVII (Mar. 15, 1865), 184-190.

For fear of Indian uprisings on the plains as part of the interruption of travel and communication the Mormons continued exploration and the development of a Colorado River waterway. Mr. Anson Call leading an exploration party to develop a port at the head of navigation had reported his activities to Horace Eldredge. "Journal History," Jan. 3, 1865.

Later in the spring on April 14th, Mr. Samuel Adams who had recently come up the Colorado River with Captain Trueworthy, delivered a lecture in the City, "On the feasibility of bringing merchandise to the Territory by way of the Colorado." Millennial Star, XXVII, 365.

Brigham Young, in the Governor's address, mentioned that the Colorado River route was being explored "because of Indian troubles of the overland route." Millennial Star, XXVII, 208-211.

⁸Ballard, "Journal," p. 48.

Orson Hyde in a discourse delivered October 7th, was concerned about disarming the Union and Confederate military. He queried:

Is the trouble ended? I do not apprehend that it is; they may cry for peace and safety, but I do not think there is good foundation for it. . . .

It is perfectly right to look at things as they really are. Here is, perhaps, a million of men to be disbanded that have been accustomed to live not by agricultural and mechanical pursuits, but they have been accustomed for the last few years to live by destroying the fruits of the ground and the productions of mechanical labor; by destroying men, women, and children and laying towns and cities in flames, and they have had joy in the work of their hands. When this multitude of men are turned loose, are they going to adopt their former course of industry? Some may, but I fear the majority of them will not; . . . they are like so many firebrands scattered over the land.⁹

Expression of gratitude for the ending of the war or support of the government's policy are strangely absent from the Mormon records. But the great "destitution" and the post-war troubles were dealt with voluminously.

In South Carolina great destitution still prevails . . . In North Carolina much of the ancient spirit of the South prevails; the people are defiant, and openly threaten to hang Union men and negroes as soon as the military are withdrawn. . . . Although trouble is thus threatened the South is profoundly quiet everywhere, except in Arkansas, where continual squabbles between discharged Federal and Confederate soldiers are reported, and murders constantly occur. Those States are just now the theatre of terrible crimes.¹⁰

A long editorial in the Millennial Star of April 1, 1865, described the havoc of the war-torn States with quotations from American newspapers followed by a discussion of the spread of

⁹Journal of Discourses, X, 153-154.

¹⁰Millennial Star, XXVII (Sept. 2, 1865), 558-559.

the War to other nations.

. . . even now events are in process of development, which will inevitably involve Great Britain in trouble and war. The wisdom of her statesmen alone, cannot save her from those dreadful evils. The time is not far distant, when she will find herself opposed by nations against whose power she will not be able, singlehanded, to make headway. Through the combinations and alliances which they will enter into, she will be compelled to "call upon other nations, in order to defend herself and the integrity of her empire, . . . On this point the Lord has spoken. His words will be as literally and completely fulfilled in relation to her, as they have been thus far, and will be in the future, respecting America. War is to be poured out upon all nations. Great Britain can no more escape the effect of that fiat, notwithstanding the permanence of her Government, the strength of her people, and the abundance of her wealth and resources, than can the rest of the nations.¹¹

Brigham Young cautioned his son, Brigham Young, Jr., presiding over the European mission, to appoint a native Elder who could stay to take over his duties when war should break out between the United States and Great Britain. President Young also gave instructions for the care of the business and finances of the mission in preparation for a speedy withdrawal when necessary.¹² Justification for these preparations and expectation of war between United States and England had been publicized:

We particularly wish to refer our readers to the recent correspondence between Earl Russell on the part of the Government of Great Britain, and the Honorable Charles F. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, on the part of his Government. . . . To the initiated the correspondence referred to has a significant meaning, and every word of it is collateral evidence that Joseph was a Prophet of the Most High. . . .

¹¹Millennial Star, XXVII, 200-205.

¹²Millennial Star, XXVII (Mar. 13, 1865), 286-287.

. . . America has not entirely emerged from the dreadful war in which she was involved, but like the skilful swordsman, who after repeated rounds leans panting upon his sword, only wants breath to renew the conflict with tenfold fury. The great Republic has made a formal demand through her representative here, for the indemnification for the ravages committed on her commerce by the Alabama, alias 290, and several other armed privateers which have been permitted to escape from these shores in spite of all that Mr. Adams could say to the contrary. It is evident that the Federal Government feels itself aggrieved and fully entitled to compensation, but this Earl Russell quietly but firmly refuses. If the Federal Government presses this subject, it will most assuredly embroil both nations in war. . . . Taking this view of the matter, we are fully persuaded that this crisis is not far distant, but just far enough to allow those who are pure before God, and have an earnest desire to place themselves where they can put forth their energies for the upbuilding of the great latter-day kingdom, to escape the calamities which are at their doors.¹³

The imminency of the completion of these predictions was evident in the repeated use of "at your doors," "close at hand," "near approach of the fulfillment," "this crisis is not far distant, but just far enough to allow those [to gather]." ."

The world look carelessly on the great Work that is going on in their midst, and with apparent indifference on the thousands who are gathering from these nations to a far distant land, to build up the Latter-day Kingdom; fully proving the truth of Scripture, that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation. The Saints can see what the Lord is doing, and in part comprehend the great events which are about to come to pass. We wish to inspire them with a more perfect realization of the great labors required of them, and the close proximity of the time when the kingdom will be established . . . The time is close at hand, even at our doors for the fulfillment of this revelation to the very letter, . . .¹⁴

¹³Millennial Star, XXVII (Oct. 28, 1865), 681-682.

¹⁴Millennial Star, XXVII (Dec. 16, 1865), 793-794. See also (Oct. 28, 1865), 681-682; (Apr. 1, 1865), 200-205; (Sept. 30, 1865), 613-615.

As proof of the part of the prophecy pertaining to "famine and pestilences" the Mormons observed "plagues in Russia, pestilence in Tartary and the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas, fevers in Central America, leprosy in Spain, Cholera in Japan, Egypt, Italy, Malta and Gibraltar, plagues of locusts in Palestine, a withering blight in the cork forests of Spain and Portugal, and vineyards of France, a murrain of sheep and cattle in Russia, England, and Scotland and a plague of flies in the Mississippi River bottoms . . ."¹⁵ All evidences combined to convince the Latter-day Saints that it was the beginning of great troubles and not the end of them.

Historians have pointed to the Mormon celebration of Lincoln's second inauguration as evidence of the resolution of differences between the Federal Government and the Mormons. When taken in context, it was evident that this view was not entirely conclusive. First of all, Brigham Young informed his son that the idea to celebrate "the important victories achieved by the armies of the Union in the capture of Charleston and other prominent places in the South, and also the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln" was conceived by a committee "from among the folks on the bench, . . . The chairman of the committee, . . . applied to the City Marshal for the use of the Council House ground for the purpose." With this incentive, the Mormons assisted and participated in the day's events.¹⁶

¹⁵Millennial Star, XXVII (Sept. 16, 1865), 585-588.

¹⁶Millennial Star, XXVII (Apr. 29, 1865), 271. "Journal History," Mar. 4, 1865.

On the day following the celebration, John Taylor's sermon powerfully reiterated the Mormon patriotism to the Constitution and to the institutions of the American government. It was very true they had never denied their allegiance to either. Those who blamed them of disloyalty were misinterpreting their position. Taylor then related the weaknesses and treason of men in office both on the national level and as appointees to the Territory. There was justification in Taylor's accusations against them. Elder Taylor's discourse of March 5th was an excellent summary of the misunderstanding that existed on the part of both Mormons and Gentiles during the Civil War years. The patriots of the nation had supreme faith in the preservation of the Union and return of reason, prosperity, freedom and justice through obedience to the constitution with the help of God. To them the Mormon position during the closing years of the Civil War seemed especially untenable. Why could not they have supported Abraham Lincoln, rallied behind the fervor of a righteous cause? For one thing the Union cause was not necessarily viewed as the righteous cause until the war had been won. It was with victory that the North adopted the "unshakable assurance" of the righteousness of their cause. The Mormons claimed the North to be a "rabid bunch of abolitionists" and believed Lincoln to be the high priest of these religiously fanatic forces. The North was as much at fault in endangering the perpetuation of the Constitution as were the Southern secessionists. In his speech on March 5th, John Taylor

summarized this belief held by the Mormon leadership:

. . . I heard yesterday from our former representative in Congress--Mr. Hooper--that when in Washington in that capacity, he was approached by two members of Congress from the South who said we had grievances to redress, and that then was the time to have them redressed, stating what great support it would give the Southern cause if Utah was to rise in rebellion against the government. He told them we had difficulties with the government, but we calculated they would be righted in the government or we would endure them. This has been uniformly our feelings. "What is your opinion of the War?" some would ask. If I had had the management of some of those things long ago, I would have hung up a number of Southern fire-eaters on one end of a rope and a lot of rabid abolitionists on the other end, as enemies and traitors to their country. That is not very disloyal, is it?¹⁷

The prevailing spirit of '65 held by the Gentiles was reflected in headlines in the New York Herald: "Heaven has willed it that the United States shall live."¹⁸ The Mormons were very much more reserved in their interpretation of events. Elder George A. Smith expressed the Mormon feeling on this question:

There is a great deal said about the origin of the trouble between the North and the South; some said it was the almighty negro; but the fact is, the people did not respect the Constitution of our country; for the

¹⁷Journal of Discourses, XI, 93.

¹⁸Pressly, American Interpret Their Civil War, pp. 57-59. For those who have received their schooling in the Northern States, the righteousness of the Northern cause is taught as being inherent in the Union from the inception of the war. Objective history shows unreasonableness, duplicity and mistakes on both sides. Even Lincoln was caught up in this. The forcing of open hostilities at Fort Sumter is a case in point. Neither side would tone its extreme position to effect reasonable compromises. It was after the victory that the war was moralized upon and considered as a lesson to posterity against the "wages of sin."

Latter-day Saints were driven in violation thereof from Jackson County to Clay, and from Clay to Caldwell and Davis counties, and then from the State of Missouri to Illinois, and from Illinois to the Rocky Mountains, robbed and plundered of their property, their women ravished, their leaders murdered, and there was not a solitary man arose to enforce the laws or the Constitution in our defense. When the President of the United States was applied to, all he would say was, "Your cause is just, but we can do nothing for you."¹⁹

It was this deepseated hurt from national injustice that led John Taylor to ask:

Who is it that talks of loyalty? Those who are stabbing the country to its very vitals. Are they the men that are loyal? Those who are sowing seeds of discord; those who are perjuring themselves before high Heaven and the country they profess to serve? Are these the loyal men? If so, God preserve me and this people from such loyalty from this time, henceforth, and forever. We look at these things from another standpoint, and view them in a different light entirely from most others.²⁰

However much the Mormons desired the perpetuation of the cooperative spirit evident at the March 4th celebration, the vast difference in "standpoint" continued to create misunderstanding making cooperation impossible. Elder Taylor's assurance that the Mormons would "stand by the Constitution and uphold the flag of our country when every body else forsakes it," was obliterated by the implications of his next statement: "We cannot shut our eyes to things transpiring around us. We have our reason, and God has revealed unto us many things; . . ."²¹

¹⁹Journal of Discourses, XI (Oct. 8, 1865), 179-180.

²⁰Journal of Discourses, XI, 92.

²¹Journal of Discourses, XI, 92.

Governor Doty, whom the Mormons respected, could not completely understand the political nature of their activities. The "ghost government" of the State of Deseret continued to function. The Territorial Legislature adjourned on January 20th. Governor Doty had given his annual message which was received with some reservations. It seemed "a pity that he could not refrain from lending the influence of his name and position in favor of the false statements which our enemies seem so anxious to fasten upon our Territory." The Mormons theorized that Connor and the Federal officers were advertising the discovery of gold and were instrumental in effecting a stall by Congress in granting statehood "in hopes that such discoveries should induce a transient and mixed population which, being a majority and holding the balance of power, might order and control affairs after their own peculiar fashion and ideas of 'Christian civilization!'"²² In continuing the editorial, Doty was warned not to cross the Mormons.

We hope, hereafter, Governor Doty's anxiety to keep popular with this mongrel multiplicity of Sects, Outnumbering Mining Population, Military Protection Crusade Society, LIMITED, for the reformation of the Mormons, will not cause him to betray himself into endorsing, unwittingly it may be, such erroneous impressions as are continually being made by disappointed aspirants after office, military glory and fame, and who are ever ready to sacrifice virtue, truth and innocence--in their reckless, unhallowed pursuit--to the accomplishment of their wicked purposes and designs and vain endeavors to destroy the Latter-day Saints and overthrow the Church and kingdom of God upon the earth.²³

²²Millennial Star, XXVII (Feb. 25, 1865), 120-121.

²³Millennial Star, XXVII (Feb. 25, 1865), 121.

The function of Church and Kingdom of God continued to baffle outsiders. The General Assembly of the State of Deseret convened on January 23rd. In Governor Young's message to the General Assembly he offered the following direction:

In order that everything may be in readiness when Congress shall recognize our State organization and to save confusion and trouble, when the transition from a Territorial condition to that of a State shall have been fully accomplished, I would respectfully suggest, that you enact that laws now in force in the Territory of Utah, be in full force, and virtue in Law in the State of Deseret.²⁴

In fact, to Governor Doty it appeared that he was in fact serving under the President of the Mormon Church, who was also the Governor of the nonexistent State of Deseret. This led Doty to correspond with Secretary of State William Seward, on January 28, 1865:

There are three distinct governments in this Territory: The Church, the Military, and the civil. In the exercise of their several powers collisions cannot always be avoided; but I am glad to report that during the past year none have occurred.

But the leaders of "the church" . . . in 1861 formed an independent government called the State of Deseret whose boundaries include Utah and portions of Nevada and Arizona. This form of government is preserved by annual elections of all of the State officers; the Legislature being composed of the same men who are elected to the Territory of Utah. . . .

For the information of the Department I herewith transmit a copy of a paper containing the proceedings of the Governor and the Legislature of this embryo State at a session held . . . on the 23rd of this month, by which it will be perceived this fourth government is now fully inaugurated.²⁵

²⁴Millennial Star, XXVII (Jan. 25, 1865), 208-211.

²⁵United States Department of State, Territorial Papers, Utah Series, Vol. II, Jan. 28, 1865, quoted in Clark, "Council of Fifty," pp. 146-147. See also Hansen, Political Kingdom of God, Galley, 72½.

Taken in light of their interpretation of prophecy concerning the Civil War and their estimation of their own role, the Mormons aroused considerable distrust and anxiety because of the perpetuation of this "ghost government."

Flags flew at half mast, doors were draped with black crepe in mourning for the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, on the 14th of April. That the President could be "dastardly stricken down by the hands of an assassin" was indicative to the Mormons of the moral decay of the nation.²⁶ A parallel was seen between the assassination of Lincoln and the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and some insight into their sentiments is contained in the following editorial:

On the 14th day of April 1865, in the bright flush of victory, in the rosy dawn of new-born peace, the Chief Magistrate of the nation lay stricken dead by the hand of an assassin. Was there any dim recollection stirred in the minds of the people then, of a time when the chief and beloved head of a peaceful community lay dead on the soil that had given him birth, murdered by the connivance of that very people who now mourned the loss of their guide and ruler? Did the truth of the natural law then recur to their minds, whatsoever a nation soweth, that it shall also reap? Here were the first fruits of that mobocracy which began in turmoil and ended in assassination, and yet how different the two cases! The blood of a servant of God has never been avenged in the same manner as the blood of a king or a statesman. Some of the supposed murderers of Joseph and Hyrum were placed upon trial before the judges of the land. A solemn farce, a mockery of justice was enacted, and as the Saints expected, they were allowed to go free. But no sooner had President Lincoln been assassinated, than the officers of justice rightfully set to work, tracked the fugitive murderer to his lair, brought him to bay, and shot him without mercy. Hundreds of his

²⁶"Journal History," Apr. 14, 15, 18, 1865.

supposed associates were arrested, thousands of dollars offered as rewards for the capture of the leaders of the Confederacy, who were supposed to have been implicated in the plot, and every scheme that wealth could command or ingenuity devise, used to revenge the blood that had been shed so basely. Eulogies of the departed were sounded forth, orations on his worth and goodness delivered, sermons preached on the sad event, and the whole civilized world combined to testify their abhorrence of the foul and dastardly deed. Was their sympathy extended to the Saints in their affliction? No. The world rejoiced in the event, and exulted in what appeared to them the downfall and destruction of "Mormonism." The man against whom no charge of immorality or treason could be brought, who came forth intact and pure from all the slanders and accusations of foul-mouthed, lying hypocrites, of whom even his enemies said, "law could not touch him, but powder and ball should," was branded as a miserable imposter, put ruthlessly to death, and denied the privileges granted the blackest criminal, while the world sympathises now in the imprisonment and fall of one who plotted against the welfare of the Republic in the halls of her Senate, exalts him as a martyr to conviction and principle, and may probably make him the hero of household rhymes or sensational melo-dramas!

The blood of the Prophets still calls for vengeance, and the full answer shall some day come. We can recognize the hand of God plainly in many things that have already transpired, but the beginning of sorrow has only dawned upon the nations. Complications daily increase, the horizon grows darker, and the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand is rising slowly but portentously, and will soon spread itself over the heavens. Then shall the nations know the value of that testimony they rejected, the worth of that blood they shed.²⁷

In speaking of the fulfillment of the remaining portions of the prophecy of 1832, Charles W. Penrose, later counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, claimed that there was a means of escaping the calamities predicted by forming an alliance with the Kingdom of God which from all indications seemed to be identical with the political organization of the State of Deseret.

²⁷Millennial Star, XXVII, 411-413.

The way, and the only way to escape the coming evil, and to establish permanent peace, is for all mankind to be joined together under one form of government, and that form after the true order. That order is the form of government which prevails in the world where the God and Father of all men presides. A heavenly government, adapted to earthly beings; the kingdom of heaven in an earthly garment; the politics of eternity governing men in time; the laws and regulations of immortality brought down to the capacity of mortal beings; the governing, protecting, and preserving power of Omnipotence, thrown around weak, erring mankind; in other words, the Kingdom of God. Not a mere spiritual, imaginary dominion in the hearts of fanciful religionists, but a literal, universal kingdom extending over the whole earth, with a constitution adapted to the necessities and conditions of the different nations in every portion of the globe; laws and regulations for the maintenance of peace, and the securing to all men in every station in their rights and privileges, for the protection of the law-abiding, and the punishment of the lawless, and to encourage and assist in the development of the resources of this fruitful earth . . . legislative and executive officials to enact and administer laws, founded upon principles of justice and acting, not for private ambition and personal profit, but for the benefit and improvement of the whole body politic; all under the control of one grand presiding Authority, whose influence and power extends to the minutest subdivision in every department of this great, universal scheme of government and progress.

. . . Such a kingdom exists in the eternal world, and such a kingdom the Almighty has determined to establish on this planet. He is willing for all the multitudes of the earth to receive the benefits thereof, if they will submit themselves to its laws and regulations; and that they may understand those principles of divine government, He has spoken from the heavens, he has sent ambassadors from the heavenly kingdom, who have conferred authority upon men living on the earth, to speak and act in his name to the rest of mankind. This authority is called the Holy Priesthood, and exists in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which is the beginning of the kingdom of God on the earth. And the great King has commanded them to call upon all men, everywhere, to make a covenant of allegiance unto him, . . .

But the inhabitants of the earth, through the different illegal governments that have been set up, and the false notions and traditions handed down from generation to generation, have become so darkened in their minds, and have such incorrect ideas concerning their true King and his laws, that it has become almost impossible to make them understand the message which he has sent, and his designs concerning them; . . . But if the

inhabitants of the earth will not hearken to the message, then their darkness will increase upon them, the hardness of their hearts will increase, corruption will continue to rot in the heart of society, and by war and pestilence, famine and distress, the kingdom of the earth will be broken, and the nations wasted away. Yet, notwithstanding this great convulsion of nations and overthrow of governments, the kingdom of God will be established.²⁸

Governor Doty's sudden death surprised the Mormons as much as the news of Lincoln's assassination had.²⁹ Two days later, June 15th, the "Journal History" referred to the visit of Speaker of the House, Colfax. George A. Smith and John Taylor, aspostles of the Church and political leaders in the State of Deseret and Utah Territory, "called on Speaker Colfax and suggested that in as much as he [Colfax] had said that Mr. Hooper would make a good governor that his appointment would be acceptable to the people of Utah . . ." This direct approach perhaps caught Colfax off guard for he claimed that his remarks had been misinterpreted "concerning Capt. Hooper making a good Governor and that he would do nothing in the matter."³⁰ As an alternative to this refusal, a petition was drawn up on the 17th of June and signed by 300 people requesting Speaker Colfax to transmit their wishes to President Johnson that Colonel Irish be appointed Governor of Utah Territory. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs he had served outstandingly. Fearful that the appointment of the

²⁸Millennial Star, XXVII (Sept. 30, 1865), 613-615.

²⁹"Journal History," June 13, 1865.

³⁰"Journal History," June 15, 1865.

Mormon choice would intensify their unity and independent course, the Federal Government appointed Durkee as Governor.

With Connor's removal to Denver and the insignificant size of the force left at Camp Douglas,³¹ it would be expected that the Mormons would look optimistically at their freedom from military surveillance. However, Heber C. Kimball had predicted there would be:

. . . one more onset against this people by the Gentiles. They will make another stroke on us and then there will be such scenes as was never before seen or heard of. The powers of destruction and devastation will be let loose. One scene is passed, but the curtain is about to rise again and oh! what will be the next scene!³²

Hints of what the Mormons believed to be in store for them was garnered from a conversation between George A. Smith, President of the Council of the State of Deseret, and John Taylor, Speaker of the House of the State of Deseret, who called on Senator Ashley, Chairman of the Committee on Territories and a Salt Lake visitor.

Mr. Ashley said the religious feeling in the United State is more intensified against us than it had ever been before, and that the religious element now ruled the country, the clergy had it their own way and they were determined that the laws of the United States should be enforced in Utah, and that it would be terrible.

Everything that could be said or done to inflame the passions was being done by the clery [sic], that the Army which would be ordered here, would be the refuse of Sherman's and other corps. Strange as it may seem, Mr. Ashley said, Sherman's army during his expedition south, and he was horrified to say it, ravished every woman that was within 25 miles on each side of his center and then burned their houses and that is what they intended to carry out here.³³

³¹"Journal History," May 19, 1865.

³²"Journal History," May 13, 1865.

³³"Journal History," July 5, 1865.

If this declaration was designed by Ashley to arouse the Mormons, it was in some respects successful. However it did not cause them to forsake their peculiar political and social mores. Brigham Young told Ashley that he did not expect another war with the United States. He believed getting an army to Utah and supporting it was impossible and he believed the Lord would continue to "hold His people in trust," protecting them.³⁴

In a letter to his son, Brigham Young was not quite as positive as he had been in his conversation with Mr. Ashley about the impossibility of troops being sent, but he firmly believed they would be "frustrated in all their designs."³⁵ As the Millennial Star had done often before in speculating on precarious conditions, it produced a typically doom and gloom editorial:

There are now upon the Plains, betwixt the Missouri river and the South Pass, 40,000 United States troops; then taking into consideration teamsters and camp followers, their numbers swell to nearly 80,000. It is currently reported that a portion of this force is to be centered in Utah. We can perceive by President Young's letter, what is the object of this body of troops traveling to Utah. It is to completely stifle the power of Latter-day Saints, and sweep them from the face of the earth, by establishing drinking saloons, whore houses, gambling halls, and other modern Christian institutions.³⁶

³⁴"Journal History," July 6, 1865.

³⁵Millennial Star, XXVII (Oct. 7, 1865), 636-637.

³⁶Millennial Star, XXVII (Oct. 7, 1865), 634-635.
Emigration dropped considerably in 1865. Perhaps threats of such troubles in Utah and the Mormon refusal to acknowledge the end of hostilities in the United States were instrumental

The year evidenced a subtle shift being made in the emphasis upon the "Mormon Question." With the Civil War resolved, political attention was pointing to the "twin relic of barbarism," polygamy, and the strange political practices of the Mormons. With the threat of the approach of an opposing force, the Mormon voice was raised in declaration of the futility of opposing God's kingdom on earth. The Mormons reaffirmed their eventual destiny as victorious in the "great and final day." There was never a return of hope for the perpetuation of the nation, no acknowledgment that the nation had been sufficiently punished or that it had repented, no recognition of the free and equal status of the Negro. It was clear that the Mormons would not face the reality of the actual state of affairs in the United States but would cling tenaciously to their original interpretations of prophecy in judging their relationship to the United States and in determining their future course. By the end of 1865, it was becoming certain that Utah Territory, however neglected during the Civil War years, was to be included in the Reconstruction of derelict States and the worse was yet to come for the Mormon people.

in causing a setback in emigration. Scandinavia: 1862--1,977 baptized; 1,177 emigrated; in 1865--1,010 baptized; 454 emigrated. Britain and Continental: 1862--approximately 3,800 emigrated; 1865--approximately 1,300 emigrated. (See charts, pp. 65, 66.) Comparatively, emigration to the United States suffered a slump in 1862, but was increasing again by 1865.

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

Dear Father,

Your kind letter of July 28th has just come to hand, but no "union" with it, but I think the next mail will bring that. I am very glad indeed to hear that you are so well and enjoying your self so well. We are all well here, we have all been to church this morning, the rest have gone this afternoon, but I staid at home to write to you. John Taylor spoke this morning; I suppose the most of the congregation thought he spoke very well, and to me some parts of his discourse sounded very well, but he could not finish it without runing on to the one string that they all harp on all the time till I get sick of it, that is the down fall of the United States government and the building up of Mormonism.

The people here still live in great fear of the Indians, they say they are all well armed and they think the soldiers here have been furnishing them with arms, I do not know I am sure whether it is so or not, I should hardly think they would do that. . . .

Your Daughter Frances.¹

The Civil War had existed as a forceful catalyst in convincing the Mormons of the rapid consummation of the Kingdom of God and their ascendancy to power and authority. With the resolution of national difficulties came the gradual realization that the fulfillment of prophecy was not to be accomplished exactly as they had envisaged. Through the years immediately following the Civil War, signs of the times were continuously observed in hopes of verification of their earlier interpretations. However, the strength of the Mormon

¹"Addison Pratt Family Papers," in possession of S. George Ellsworth, Logan, Utah. (Letter from Frances Pratt Dyer to Addison Pratt, dated Ogden City, Aug. 19, [1866?])

position contingent upon the Civil War grew weaker finally necessitating readjustment.

In 1872, Brigham Young gave public recognition to his belief in the inability of the Saints to establish a government on the magnificent scope and character that had been visualized earlier. Brigham Young did not admit an error in interpretation of scripture nor the possibility of the United States having suffered sufficient chastisement and repented. Only the unpreparedness and weakness of the Saints thwarted the plan. He admonished his followers:

Will he [God] ever grant power to his Saints on the earth? Yes, they will take the kingdom and possess it for ever and ever; but in the capacity they are now, in the condition that they now present themselves before God, before the world and before each other? Never, never! Until we are sanctified, until we are filled with the wisdom of God, with the knowledge of God, will he bequeath the power that he has in reserve for his Saints; never will the Saints possess it until they are prepared to wield it with all judgment, discretion, wisdom and forbearance that the Lord Almighty wields in his own capacity, . . . We shall not have it now. The Lord says, "I can not give it to you now."²

Hence, the hopes and planning accelerated by the Civil War were pushed to the indefinite future. The disappointment and letdown were summarized in 1903 by Patriarch Benjamin F. Johnson, an original member of the Council of Fifty and a probable participant in the political excitement of the Kingdom of God during the Civil War years:

²Journal of Discourses, XV, 2-4. See also Andrus, World Government, pp. 119-120.

We were over seventy years ago taught by our leaders to believe that the coming of Christ and the millennial reign was much nearer than we believe it to be now.³

³Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, Apr. to Oct., 1903, (Typed manuscript, Brigham Young University Library), quoted in Hansen, Political Kingdom of God, Galley, 11.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents

- U. S. Congress, Senate. Records of the United States Senate pertaining to the Territory of Utah, 1849-1870.
- U. S. Congressional Globe. 36th Congress, 1861-1862; 37th Congress, 1862-1863; 38th Congress, 1863-1864; 39th Congress, 1864-1865.
- U. S. Department of Justice. Documents pertaining to Utah Territory, 1852- .
- U. S. Department of State. Utah Territorial Papers, April 30, 1853-December 24, 1859; January 5, 1860-January 3, 1873.
- U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on the Judiciary. Federal Jurisdiction in the Territories; Right of Local Self-Government. Justice Black's Argument for Utah, February 1, 1883.
- Utah Territory. Governors' Messages, 1851-1876. Utah State Archives.
- Utah Territory. Laws, Statutes, etc., 1850-1876.

Books

- Andrus, Hyrum L. Joseph Smith and World Government. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958.
- Arrington, Leonard J. Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Bancroft, George. History of Utah, 1840-1886. Vol. XXVI. San Francisco: The History Co., Publishers, 1889.
- Brodie, Fawn. Thaddeus Stevens. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1959.
- Brooks, Juanita (ed.). The Diary of Hosea Stout. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964.

Burton, Richard F. The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California. New York: Harper and Brother, Pub., 1862.

Cannon, George Q. (ed.). Journal of Discourses. Vol. XII-XI. Reported by G. D. Watt and J. V. Long. Liverpool: Published by George Q. Cannon, 1860-1867.

_____. Writings from the 'Western Standard.' Liverpool: G. Q. Cannon, 1864.

Cannon, John Quayle. George Cannon, The Immigrant. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927.

Cleland, Robert Glass, and Brooks, Juanita (ed.). A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876. Vol. I, II. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955.

Colton, Ray C. The Civil War in The Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.

Creer, Leland H. The Founding of An Empire. Salt Lake City: Book Craft, 1947.

Duncan, Charles T. (ed.). An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in The Summer of 1859. New York: 1864.

Dunning, William Archibald. Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. New York: MacMillan Company, 1898.

Durham, G. Homer. Joseph Smith, Prophet Statesman: Readings in American Political Thought. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1944.

Fisher, Margaret M. Utah and The Civil War: A Story of the Part Played By the People of Utah with Special Reference to the Lot Smith Expedition and the Robert T. Burton Expedition. Salt Lake City: 1929.

Furniss, Norman F. The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

Gabaiel, Ralph Henry. The Course of American Democratic Thought. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1940.

Grant, Carter Eldredge. The Kingdom of God Restored. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955.

Hance, Irma Watson, and Warr, Irene (ed.). Johnston, Connor and The Mormons: Military History of Northern Utah. (Published in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of Fort Douglas, October 22, 1962.)

- Hunt, Aurora. The Army of The Pacific: Its Operations in California, Texas, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, etc., 1860-1866. Glendale, California: A. H. Clark Co., 1951.
- Jenson, Andrew (ed.). Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899.
- Larson, Gustive Olaf. Prelude To The Kingdom. Frankestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co., 1947.
- Linn, William Alexander. The Story Of The Mormons. New York: MacMillan Co., 1923.
- Lewis, Oscar. The War In the Far West, 1861-1865. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961.
- Martin, Stuart. The Mystery of Mormonism. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1920.
- Melville, J. Keith. Brigham Young, Some Political Concepts of a Frontier Prophet. Provo: Brigham Young University Extension, Pub., 1962.
- Morrison, Samuel Eliot, and Commager, Henry Steele. The Growth of the American Republic. 4th ed. Vol I. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Neff, Andrew Love. History of Utah, 1847-1869. Leland H. Creer (ed.) Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940.
- Orton, Brig.-Gen. Richard H. (Comp.). Records of California Men in the War of Rebellion, 1861-1867. Sacramento: State Printing, 1890.
- Pomeroy, Earl S. The Territories and The United States, 1861-1890: Studies in Colonial Administration. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947.
- Pratt, Orson. The Kingdom of God. Vol. I-IV. Liverpool: R. James, 1848.
- Pressly, Thomas J. Americans Interpret Their Civil War. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- Randall, J. G., and Donald, David. The Civil War and Reconstruction. 2nd ed. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1961.
- Representative Men of Indiana. (Biography of John Dawson.) Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Biographical Pub., Co., 1880.
- Roberts, Brigham H. A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Vol. IV, V. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1930.

- _____. History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, by Himself. Vol. I-VII. 2nd ed. revised. Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Co., 1959.
- Stenhouse, T. B. H. Rocky Mountain Saints. London: Ward, Lock, Tyler, Warick House, Paternoster Row, E. C., (No date.)
- Tullidge, Edward W. (ed.). History of Salt Lake City. (Written by authority of the City Council and under the supervision of a Committee appointed by the Council and Author.) Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886.
- Tullidge, Edward W. Life of Brigham Young: Or Utah and Her Founders. New York: 1876.
- Vetterli, Richard. Mormonism, Americanism, and Politics. Salt Lake City: Ensign Pub. Co., 1961.
- War Of The Rebellion: Records of The Union and Confederate Armies. Series I, Vol L, Part 1. Washington, D. C., 1897.
- Whitney, Orson F. History of Utah. Vol. II. Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Pub., 1893.
- West, Ray Benedict. Kingdom of the Saints: Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
- Zobell, Albert L., Jr. Under the Midnight Sun. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1950.

Articles and Periodicals

- Arrington, Leonard J. "Taxable Income in Utah, 1862-1872," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIV, No. 1 (January, 1956), 21-47.
- Clark, James R. "The Kingdom of God, The Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXVI, No. 2 (April, 1958), 131-148.
- Durham, G. Homer. "The Democratic Crisis and Mormon Thought," Ethics, LII, No. 1 (October, 1941), 110-115.
- _____. "A Political Interpretation of Mormon History," Pacific Historical Review, XIII, No. 1 (June, 1944).
- Deseret News. 1860-1866.

- Ellsworth, George S. "Review of Richard Vetterli's, Mormonism, Americanism, and Politics," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXX, No. 3 (Summer, 1962), 272-275.
- _____. "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 1 (Winter, 1963), 60-69.
- Hansen, Klaus J. "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," Brigham Young University Studies, II, (Spring-Summer, 1960), 241-260.
- Hubbard, George U. "Abraham Lincoln as Seen By the Mormons," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 91-106.
- Larson, Gustive O. "Utah and The Civil War," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965), 55-77.
- Mackinnon, William P. "The Spoils System in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 127-150.
- Millennial Star. Vol. XXIII-XXVIII, 1861-1866.
- Morgan, Dale O. "State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1940.
- Taylor, Phillip A. M. "Why Did British Mormons Emigrate?" Utah Historical Quarterly, XXII, No. 3 (July, 1954), 250-267.
- Young, Seymour B. "The Loyalty of Brigham Young," Improvement Era, XIV, No. 7 (May, 1911), 602-611.

Unpublished Manuscripts

- Ballard, Henry, Jr. "Personnal Journal," Utah State Historical Society.
- Bernhisel, David M. (Comp.) "Scrapbook of Dr. John Milton Bernhisel, 1799-1881: Includes correspondence, writings, cards, momentos, press-notices, etc." Utah State Historical Society.
- Bleak, James G. "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," Utah State Historical Society.
- Bush, Alfred L., and Hansen, Klaus J. "Notes on the Political Kingdom and Council of Fifty," Utah State Historical Society.

- Caldwell, Gaylon L. "Mormon Concepts of Individual Rights and Political Obligation." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Stanford University Library, 1952.
- Call, Anson. "Personal Diary," Utah State Historical Society.
- Carr, William Cecil. "Utah Statehood: Its Background and Development to 1865." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California Library, 1963.
- Cazier, Stanford Orson. "The Life of William Henry Hooper, Merchant Statesman." Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah Library, 1956.
- Dawson, John W. "Letters, 1861-1862." Utah State Historical Society.
- Greenwell, James Richard. "The Mormon-Anti-Mormon Conflict in Early Utah as Reflected in the Local Newspapers, 1850-1869." Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah Library, 1963.
- Hansen, Klaus J. Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and The Council of Fifty in Mormon History. Galley, Michigan State University Press.
- Hooper, William H. "Letter Books," Vol. I, December 7, 1859-December 2, 1860; Vol. II, December 10, 1860-March 16, 1861; Vol. III, March 18, 1861-September 12, 1863. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Hooper, William H. "Letters, 1853-1884 (Originals)," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Jensen, Therald N. "Mormon Theory of Church and State." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago Library, 1938.
- "Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Daily entries from 1860-1865. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Lambert, Charles A. "Personal Journal," Utah State Historical Society.
- "Miscellaneous Utah Manuscripts." Library of Congress. Microfilm at Utah State University Library.
- Peterson, Ferdinand E. "Utah's Struggle for Statehood." Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah Library, 1929.

- Poll, Richard D. "The Mormon Question, 1850-1865: A Study in Politics and Public Opinion." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California Library, 1948.
- Rogan, Francis Edward. "Patrick Edward Connor, An Army Officer in Utah, 1862-1886." Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah Library.
- Sylvester, Robert H. "Dr. John Milton Bernhisel: Utah's First Delegate to Congress." Unpublished MS thesis, University of Utah Library, 1947.
- Woodruff, Wilford. "Personal Journals," January, 1860-October 22, 1865; October 22, 1865-December 31, 1872. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
- Young, Brigham. "Letters to Delegate Hooper." Coe Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.